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**It's a
Secret**

Also by Henry Hoke

BLACK MAIL

It's a Secret

BY HENRY ^{HOKE} HOKE

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TO

the unsung men and women
who have fought to protect
democracy on the home front

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Acknowledgments

For their help in developing this book I owe my thanks:
To the investigators, both in Government and in private
life, who furnished me with their "secrets," but who
must remain nameless.

To the Representatives and Senators in Congress and
their staffs who gave me their advice and counsel—and
who let me examine their wastebaskets.

To the soldiers and sailors, Army and Navy officers,
and Government officials who gave me ideas and re-
sponded so courteously to my almost endless question-
ing.

To the anti-fascist organizations which opened their
files and their hearts to my search for "secrets."

To Anne Simmons, editor of the *Propaganda Battle-
front* (the bulletin of the Friends of Democracy) with-
out whose collaboration in research and editing the
difficulties of accurate reporting might have been
insurmountable.

And finally (and most important) to Walter Winchell
for the idea behind the title. Winchell was the first
public "voice" to expose undemocratic persons and

forces. He started back in 1933 when many others who knew were too timid to talk. He exposed himself to personal danger and abuse by naming names. He paved the way and made it easier for those of us who followed—much later.

Early in 1945, Winchell ran a column “Bureau of Missing Investigations.” He “wondered” what had happened to many promised probes. That idea gave me the lead to undertake the investigation which resulted in this book.

HENRY HOKE

New York
November, 1945

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Introduction

Before we begin to discuss the strange story of secrecy, we should understand mutually, the reader and the writer, the reasons for this report.

Even though the fighting forces of the United States have overcome the military might of Italy, Germany and Japan . . . we have not been equally successful in defeating the Fascist threat here at home. There is still much unfinished business. We will not win lasting peace unless we solve the problem of checking disruptive propaganda.

The seeds planted by foreign agents have borne fruit. In the postwar era we are in for a full scale attack from the Americans who were "educated" by the skillful agents of Fascism.

During the summer of 1944, my book *Black Mail* was published. It was the result of five years of investigating the misuse of the United States mails by foreign agents and their American cooperators for the purpose of disrupting and dividing the thinking of America . . . so that we would be weakened internally and not prepared for attack.

Following the appearance of *Black Mail*, the author of it was invited to talk before numerous gatherings

in many sections of the country. I designed a slide film which illustrated to each audience in simple ABC fashion, the Fascist plot of "divide and conquer" and how all the disturbing elements fitted together into one intricate but definitely understandable pattern.

After the completion of each talk, there was a question and answer period. Those were hot sessions . . . especially in high schools where the minds were agile and searching. In nearly every audience one group of questions popped up.

"Why isn't the Government doing more about prosecuting those suspected of sedition?"

"Why doesn't the FBI take more action?"

"What happened to the Father Coughlin case?"

"Did George Hill take the rap for someone else?"

I tried to answer those questions frankly . . . but I'll admit that sometimes I pulled my punches. Perhaps I was afraid that the real truth would hurt. The questions (and my answers) worried me, and I continued my investigations in between the talks and trying to run my own business.

One day in Washington, I was describing to a sympathetic Senator our difficulties in getting any action against those trying to disrupt America. I gave him a brief report on the underground efforts to *hush up* the whole affair and to protect the people who had been indicted for sedition.

The Senator exploded: "That's the trouble with Washington . . . too blankety blank much secrecy." He then told me of some of his own experiences with *secrecy* . . . about important Congressional Committee

investigations which had bogged down after starting with a big hullabaloo . . . about secret "executive" hearings which revealed shocking conditions . . . but the records of those hearings or investigations were buried for all time because of pressure upon the individual members of the Committee by religious, political or business groups.

I became more interested in this *secrecy* angle . . . and started to investigate *secrecy* itself. When it became evident that pressure from all directions had stymied the Department of Justice in prosecuting (and thereby exposing) those who had participated in the Fascist campaign to weaken America, I decided that I would write a final report which would attempt to tell the whole truth. A report, perhaps, to the young Americans who, on foreign soil, lost touch with what has been going on at home during their absence.

But it is very hard to get the truth . . . and even harder to tell it. No matter where we turn for official facts . . . the answer is, "It's a secret." Lawyers say "You can't write *that*."

I will start out by telling about the Grand Jurors who sat for many long months in Washington. In spite of the secrecy which surrounds Grand Jury proceedings, we may be able to tear away part of the veil and, by the process of deduction, disclose some of the secrets which are locked up in the minds and the records of the Federal Grand Jurors.

I will tell about some of the secret investigations in Washington . . . the results of which have never been made public. I'll attempt to tie all these things

together and show you what this secrecy means to the future welfare of our country.

I want to emphasize one point very strongly. I appreciate that in most cases there are sound reasons for secrecy in Grand Jury proceedings. The Grand Jury is a wonderful institution. It is our democratic balance wheel. The rules of evidence do not apply in Grand Jury proceedings. That is, witnesses are sworn and questioned but are not represented by legal counsel. The witness can state opinions, and these personal observations might not necessarily be based on court-acceptable facts. Therefore, it is only proper that testimony before Grand Jurors should not be exposed freely to the public because some of the "evidence" might be entirely untruthful or it might be based upon personal prejudices or hatred of individuals.

It is also true that Grand Jury proceedings should be kept secret *at least* until the facts exposed are presented in Court . . . because too early release of the information might only help the accused to avoid rightful conviction . . . or it might even be used to intimidate future witnesses.

I will not violate any of the legal rules of secrecy surrounding Grand Jury proceedings. But I insist that it is permissible to give all the names of all the people who appeared before the various Grand Juries investigating sedition, and to give too the background of the witnesses known from long and close study. And I will tell about some of the facts known by the witnesses . . . facts which they possibly gave to the inter-

rogator at the Grand Jury hearings. It will be shown how the various witnesses tied together; and what deducible facts have been kept hidden.

Later on, I shall describe what has happened to some of the witnesses who appeared before the Federal Grand Jury . . . what they are doing now . . . and what their announced plans are for the future. All of this put together should give a pattern of what the Fascists expect to do and why we should be on watch against them.

In some phases of the preparation of this report, it has been necessary for me to work with a collaborator. I wanted to be positive that my background facts on individuals and organizations were correct beyond all shadow of doubt. I have been fortunate in having the assistance of Anne Simmons. Educated at Texas State College for Women and the University of Missouri, she first learned about propaganda as a researcher and editorial assistant for the Institute for Propaganda Analysis. During the last four years she has done research and editorial work for the Friends of Democracy. Since the early part of 1945, she has been chief editor of the *Propaganda Battlefront*, widely known semi-monthly publication of the Friends of Democracy. Anne Simmons knows, through a careful analysis of all propaganda going through the mails, nearly every disruptive organization and individual in the United States. So I acknowledge that even though I have done most of the leg work and investigations in Washington . . . Anne Simmons has performed the possibly

less spectacular but much more important job of careful research for authentication of all facts.

It is impossible to give credit to all of the many men and women who have assisted in the preparation of, or the groundwork for, this report. A listing of those names might fill the book itself. Of particular importance, however, are the fine people working in various offices in Washington who, without pay or remuneration of any kind, but purely out of love for their country, have assisted in gathering facts and putting those facts together.

There is another point I want to make perfectly clear.

Ever since I began this investigation of divisive propaganda, I've been accused of nearly everything under the sun. I can make the whole thing clear by telling a story which I have told on many lecture platforms.

During an extended speaking tour through the Midwest, I appeared before high schools, business clubs (such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, etc.), political gatherings and even in churches and synagogues. Toward the end of the tour, while in Chicago, I was told that the feature writer of a Chicago newspaper (not the *Chicago Tribune*) wanted to interview me. I was asked to visit the newspaper office. When I appeared and gave my name to the telephone operator-receptionist, she welcomed me with: "Oh, Mr. Hoke, won't you please autograph my copy of *Black Mail*?"

Nothing pleases an author more . . . especially when asked for that autograph by a pretty girl. The book

she handed me was tattered and torn but she explained that everyone around the plant had been urged to read it . . . copy boys, elevator operators, reporters, stenographers, etc. The signing completed, the little telephone operator added to her thanks: "They are waiting for you inside. When you come out please do me a favor. Sit down and talk with me."

After questions were all asked and answered, I started to leave . . . but the telephone operator called to me again: "You promised to sit down and talk."

Her first question: "Mr. Hoke, are you a Jew?"

I answered: "No."

"Then, are you financed by the Jews?"

"The answer is still NO."

She continued, slightly embarrassed and confused. "But that is always thrown at me when I ask people to read your book. They say that you are a Jew because you are attacking anti-Semitism. They say that if you are not a Jew you must be financed by the Jews, because you are so interested in combatting intolerance."

And then this attractive girl made this startling confession: "You know, Mr. Hoke, I am a Jew. When I heard you were coming here today I wanted to talk to you. I wanted to find out why you were interested in this work. I wanted to tell you that I am a Jew and that I am beginning to be afraid of being one. I feel it in the elevators and on the streets. I feel people looking at me. I imagine they are hating me because I am a Jew. Won't you *please* tell me something that may help to settle my mind?"

So . . . I told her how I felt about it.

Briefly, that she had no right to be afraid or to feel ashamed of being a Jew. We are all here together in a melting pot of many races, creeds and cultures. In a democracy, we all are supposed to have an equal opportunity. She should realize that *planned attacks* are being made against the Jews and other minority groups. She should try to be calm about it, by realizing that many of the attacks are manufactured or instigated by outside forces opposed to democracy. By all working together, we may be able to counteract these attacks or make them ineffective.

However, the important part of my explanation follows, and I'll quote:

"It is very simple to explain my interest in the cause.

"I've been accused of being a Communist. That's rather silly . . . seeing that I own my own home and my own business, and I have no desire to turn over that home or business to any totalitarian state. The other accusations are equally silly. It happens that I was reared in the town of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. My ancestors were partly of Pennsylvania Dutch origin, although I've never worried too much about 'origin.' Ever since childhood I have heard that Pennsylvania Dutchmen are known as somewhat stubborn and selfish people.

"I have been in the direct mail business since 1920. It's a good, clean business. I've tried to make a success of my particular specialties . . . selling goods and services (or telling other people how to do it), by truthful messages through the mail.

"When, during the year 1939, I accidentally stumbled onto the fact that foreign agents were using the United States mail to disrupt the thinking of the country and to get us all fighting among each other . . . my Pennsylvania Dutch characteristics were aroused. I began to get worried and to

wonder what would happen to the direct mail business if propaganda through the mail became so powerful that it would weaken, or destroy, the legitimate use of the mail. I began to be worried over what this new type of warfare would do to the country. So I began to investigate . . . because my *selfish* desire to protect my own home and business came to the foreground. When I was attacked for exposing some of the propaganda organizations, such as the German Railways and the German Library of Information, when I was threatened with libel suits and even personal injury, I became stubborn . . . refusing to be intimidated. When business or political associates tried to stop my exposures, I became *even more stubborn* . . . refusing to be gagged.

"If you really love democracy, if you really love this country we were fortunate to be born in, *you must be selfish about it*. If you are not selfish about it, you will have no real desire to protect it.

"I haven't been mixed up in this fight to protect the Jews, the Catholics, the Protestants, the Presbyterians, the Negroes, the Italians, or any one particular group of people. I've been selfishly and stubbornly fighting to protect the Hoke family . . . because I knew that if the Fascists won in America . . . if we eventually had a totalitarian or Fascist government in the United States, the Hoke family and its possessions would not be safe.

"Suppose we visualize the day when the Fascists here actually get control! Suppose that the coming *fuehrer* of America turns out to be a graduate of Harvard! And suppose that some day after this *fuehrer* becomes tired of persecuting the Jews, he decides that all graduates of the University of Pennsylvania should have their throats cut or be drowned! What would happen to Henry Hoke, who was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania rather than from Harvard?

"This may be an exaggerated example, but that is what happens in all Fascist or totalitarian governments. All minori-

ties (sometimes even majorities) are persecuted to a greater or less degree, depending on the whims of those in control.

"Does this explanation make my position clear?

"I simply happen to like democracy. I will keep on fighting, in spite of hell and high water, against those who want to destroy democracy . . . because from my own Pennsylvania Dutch (selfish and stubborn) interest . . . I think democracy is the best form of government for the welfare of my own individual family and business."

That's about the end of my conversation with the telephone operator. Whether or not my explanation helped her . . . is another story.

Without further ado . . . I'll begin my report on *It's a Secret* . . . a title which day by day becomes more appropriate after months of searching for the truth about what's happened to which investigation in Washington.

H. H.

Washington-New York
1945

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The Cast of Characters

At the close of a cabinet meeting in the White House early in the spring of 1941, President Roosevelt called down the table: "Francis, please stay. I'd like to talk with you."

Later, in the executive office, the President laid before Attorney General Francis Biddle a number of pamphlets, booklets and circulars. A few pieces in this miscellaneous assortment of "black mail" attacked the President of the United States. Some of the specimens were violent in their abuse of the Jews. There were attacks against the Negroes, the Catholics, the government.

The Attorney General examined the collection. The President questioned: "What are you going to do about them?"

"Mr. President, nothing can be done."

It is no secret in Washington among reporters that Franklin D. Roosevelt at this point became angry. His face was flushed as he shouted across the table: "This is the same type of planned dissension which broke the will to resist aggression in every country in Europe.

You are the prosecutor. I want something done about these cases. You go ahead and do it."

It is also no secret that prior to this meeting in the White House, the President had received from various organizations and individuals throughout the country, samples of the "hate sheets" which he showed to the Attorney General . . . with protests, asking for action.

President Roosevelt had been supplied with ample records concerning propaganda issued by foreign agents and by Americans who cooperated with them. He was familiar with the misuse of the franking privilege, by which Nazi agents had succeeded in introducing their propaganda into the *Congressional Record* and getting wide and economical distribution by reprints mailed under the free Congressional frank.

On Wednesday, July 2, 1941, in the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, 23 persons* were grouped in a semicircle before the bench

* Members of the July, 1941, Federal Grand Jury. Foreman: John S. Gorrell, 3700 T St., N.W. (Telephone engineer). Clerk of the Jury: Stanley Roderick Darcey, 4500 Butterworth Pl., N.W. (Assistant chief clerk at Capital Transit Company). Poll Clerk: Lester E. Purcell, 1642 Fort Davis St., S.E. (Inspector of electrical equipment). Secretary: Mrs. Henry Grat-tan Doyle (Member of Washington Board of Education). Besides the officers, the other grand jurors were: Morris Brody, 758 Princeton Pl., N. W. (Dry goods wholesaler); John Herbert Collier, 3725 Windom Pl., N.W. (Building contractor); John B. Elledge, 2616 University Pl., N.W. (Purchasing agent); Rufus P. Embrey, 4027 New Hampshire Ave., N.W. (Salesman); Mrs. Nettie Irene Etsler, 247 Eighth St., N.E. (Clerk); George Thomas Flaharty (Assistant foreman); Mrs. Mildred G. Foote, 3211 Northampton St., N.W. (Housewife); Allan Russell Foster, The Westchester (Account-ant); Mrs. Edna K. Gasch, 1638 R St., N.W. (Electrical contractor's asso-ciate); Norman C. Good, 7613 Morningside Drive (Photographer); Andrew Gough, 1430 Ives Pl., S.E. (Brewery foreman); Roy Cicero Harbin, 514 Oneida Pl., N.W. (Accountant); Lawrence D. Jacobs, 3800 New Hampshire Ave., N.W. (Clerk); William G. Krupp, 33 Adams St., N.W. (Tailor); William H. Littleford, 2421 Girard Pl., N.E. (Waiter); George Edward May, 3103 Tennyson Pl., N.W. (Unemployed); John G. Reynolds, 1533 Monroe St., N.W. (Salesman); Elmer A. Volland, 429 Rittenhouse St., N.W. (Advertising man); Charles L. Mellon, 2208 Perry St., N.E. (Printer).

of presiding Justice Proctor. These 23 men and women had previously been examined as to their competency for duty. They were found qualified and at 10 A. M. were accepted and sworn in as members of the Federal Grand Jury for the July term of A.D. 1941.

A glance at the footnote will indicate clearly that this Grand Jury represented the average cross-section of any community . . . plain, American citizens . . . similar to our neighbors. It was a regular term Grand Jury. No special work had been assigned. No effort had been made to get any particular type of jury. But shortly after the swearing in, the Attorney General designated William Power Maloney as his special assistant to investigate foreign propaganda in the United States. Maloney was assigned to work with the new Grand Jury. No better man could have been found for this difficult job, which involved the study of an intricate misuse of the mail.

Maloney, who had long been recognized as an outstanding trial lawyer, was experienced in mail frauds. A graduate of Fordham Law School in 1925, he had served his training years with the legal firm of Atwater & Clarke in New York City. From 1934 until 1940 he was assistant to Martin Conboy, Lamar Hardy and John T. Cahill successively, United States attorneys for the Southern District of New York. While in that spot he specialized in mail frauds . . . conducting the Grand Jury investigation and later trying and getting convictions in such front-page cases as Graham & McKay, the Reno, Nevada, political bosses and protectors of a large international ring of confidence men

and swindlers; William Buckner of the Philippine Railway bond scandal; and Wallace Garland, the "boy wizard" from Yale, as well as a wide variety of other cases.

In 1940, Maloney went to Washington as Senior Trial Counsel for the Securities and Exchange Commission. Later, for a short time, he was Counsel for the Senate Sub-Committee on Interstate Commerce where he helped to chase the wire-tapping racketeers out of business.

Early in 1941, he joined the Department of Justice staff as a Special Assistant to the Attorney General and before his appointment to the "sedition" Grand Jury investigation, he prosecuted the Transocean News Service . . . his first encounter with Nazi agents.

During the hot summer days of 1941, William Power Maloney and his assistant, Edward J. Hickey, Jr., starting practically from scratch and working day and night, conducted their own investigation of the tangled skein of enemy propaganda in the United States.

On September 12, 1941, the Grand Jury (sworn in on July 2) heard its first witnesses in the propaganda investigation.

Each witness is sworn to regard all testimony and all happenings within the jury room as *strictly secret*. All members of the Grand Jury are sworn to secrecy. All attorneys from the Department of Justice, accredited to the Grand Jury, are sworn to secrecy. So too, are the marshals.

It is not against the rules of secrecy for a reporter

to observe the persons being called by the United States marshal into the Grand Jury room. Some of the names to be given here have been seen in the newspapers. Others have not. But in the chronological list of witnesses after each name is an identifying phrase. Later on in the story, by the process of deduction we will discover what must have happened behind the doors of the Grand Jury room.

If you, or any other individual citizen, tried to get this list from the Department of Justice or from the United States Marshal's office . . . the answer would be "It's a secret."

In giving out this list of witnesses, I am revealing the only "official" information which can be given without violating the sacred secrecy which surrounds all Grand Jury proceedings. We have a right to know, as citizens and taxpayers, who was called . . . and I, as a reporter, have a right to describe the background, the experience and connections of the witnesses.

And I have a right *to deduce* from the list of witnesses (and what is known about them) what information the Grand Jurors probably heard.

We can presume (or guess) what a good prosecutor, such as William Power Maloney, would ask each individual witness. Of course, we can't easily presume (or guess) whether each individual told the truth, the whole truth, part of the truth, or none of the truth . . . but by knowing the background and connections of each person involved . . . and also considering the order of their appearance before the Jury . . . we can outline a conclusive report on most of the ramifica-

tions of this plot to undermine America . . . how the various pieces fit together . . . and why the public should not be told "It's a secret."

We will be able to learn how the huge sums of money which were paid for traveling expenses, witness fees, lawyers' salaries, stenographers and transcripts practically have been thrown out of the window because the *records of the Grand Jury proceedings are locked up in secrecy . . . possibly forever.*

Now, here is the Cast of Characters in the biggest mystery story in the history of our country.

The Parade of Characters questioned, investigated or consulted by the Federal Grand Juries Investigating Seditious Activity in the United States

The persons named below are listed in the order of their appearance before the Grand Jury.

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/

September 12, 1941:

William Cochrane . . . Special agent of FBI

September 16:

Frank B. Burch . . . Akron, Ohio, attorney

Virgil J. Wiltse . . . Former agent of FBI

Sigfrid Hauck . . . President of Flanders Hall (book publishers in Scotch Plains, N. J.)

September 17:

Frank B. Burch . . . Akron, Ohio, attorney

Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling . . . Patriotic Research Bureau, Chicago

Sigfrid Hauck . . . President of Flanders Hall

George McElroy . . . father-in-law of Sigfrid Hauck

September 19:

Frank B. Burch . . . Akron, Ohio, attorney

Prescott Dennett . . . Ran various isolationist committees

September 23:

Prescott Dennett . . . Friend of George Hill in Congressman Fish's office

The Grand Jury on this day indicted Frank Burch for failing to register as a German agent. He later pleaded guilty, was fined \$1000, and given probation on account of age.

September 25:

Frank R. Monroe . . . Superintendent of mails at House Post Office

Charles Wilson . . . Truck driver at House Post Office

Prescott Dennett . . . Islands for War Debts Committee, etc.

Sigfrid Hauck . . . President of Flanders Hall

Shaemas O'Sheel . . . Author and long time friend of George Sylvester Viereck, who edited *Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian* (a Flanders Hall Book)

September 26:

Prescott Dennett . . . Recalled for further questioning

Isabelle French . . . From America First Committee, Washington office

September 29:

Prescott Dennett . . . Liaison between Viereck and Hill

September 30:

Prescott Dennett . . . Recalled for more questions

October 1:

Prescott Dennett . . . Recalled for more questions

October 3:

George Sylvester Viereck . . . Author, poet, publicist, registered agent of German principals

October 8:

George Sylvester Viereck was indicted for failure to give a true statement of his activities when he registered as an agent for German firms.

October 9:

George Hill . . . Secretary to Congressman Hamilton Fish

October 10:

Charles Wilson . . . House mail truck driver—recalled

George Hill . . . recalled

Walter L. Reynolds . . . Another secretary to Hamilton Fish

October 17:

Michael O'Gorman . . . Employee of House of Representatives
Post Office

Irvin T. Quinn, Jr. . . . Mailing platform employee—House
Post Office

Michael O'Gorman . . . Recalled—from House Post Office

Kathryn Rautzenberg . . . From Senator Lundeen's office

Robert A. Ritter . . . From Government Printing Office

Henry Hoke . . . Editor of the *Reporter of Direct Mail Advertising*, who had exposed the franking racket

Robert A. Ritter . . . From Government Printing Office, seen
going into Jury room with stacks of "job envelopes" (envelopes
containing statistical records)

October 22:

Harriett Elvira Johnson . . . Former clerk of Senator Lundeen

Elizabeth M. Tomai . . . Former clerk of Senator Lundeen

Ralph Harris . . . *Congressional Record* clerk at Capitol

Charles Boland . . . FBI accountant who prepared statistical
charts for Grand Jury

George Hill . . . Secretary to Hamilton Fish

October 23:

George Hill . . . Recalled for more questions

October 24:

Dillard Stokes . . . Star reporter for *Washington Post*

The Grand Jury on this day indicted George Hill, secretary to Hamilton Fish, for perjury on two counts: (a) that he denied knowing Viereck; and (b) that he denied knowledge of contents of mailbags spirited away from Dennett's office to Fish's store-room and America First Committee.

November 3:

Phyllis Posivio Spielman . . . Former employee of Senator Lundeen

Bernard Grant . . . Employee of City Bank of Washington

Esther Van Sciver . . . Worked at Ford Motor Company, New York office on mailing lists

Bessie Feagin . . . Circulation manager of *Scribner's Commentator*, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin

November 4:

Arthur Junga . . . Member of Steuben Society. An employee of U. S. Customs House

Gladys LaVance . . . Formerly worked for Ford Motor Company at World's Fair

Bessie Feagin . . . *Scribner's Commentator*

November 5:

Bessie Feagin . . . Recalled after being cautioned in court by judge for refusing to answer questions

November 6:

Bessie Feagin . . . Recalled again after more court difficulties

November 12:

George T. Eggleston . . . *Scribner's Commentator* editor

Douglas Stewart . . . *Scribner's Commentator* executive

November 13:

Charles Lind . . . *Scribner's Commentator* employee

Douglas Stewart . . . *Scribner's Commentator*

Frederick Kister . . . Radio editor, *Scribner's Commentator*

Dillard Stokes . . . From *Washington Post*

November 14:

Walter Reynolds . . . Fish's other secretary

November 24:

Dillard Stokes . . . Again recalled

Marie F. Johnson . . . Employee of Steuben Society

Theo. H. Hoffman . . . President of Steuben Society



FRANCIS BIDDLE



WILLIAM POWER MALONEY



HAMILTON FISH



O. JOHN ROGGE



BURTON K. WHEELER



RUSH D. HOLT



ROBERT RICE REYNOLDS



CLARE E. HOFFMAN



GEORGE HILL



GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK



CHARLES E. COUGHLIN



PRESCOTT DENNETT



GERALD L. K. SMITH



ELIZABETH DILLING



EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE



AGNES WATERS

November 28:

Walter Reynolds . . . Fish's secretary

Seward B. Collins . . . Writer who owned book store in New York

Douglas Stewart . . . *Scribner's Commentator*

December 5:

Hamilton Fish . . . The Congressman

December 16:

Ralph Townsend . . . A *Scribner's Commentator* editor

Cathrine Curtis . . . Published isolationist pieces and sponsored

Laura Ingalls. Active in Mothers groups

December 17:

Ralph Townsend . . . *Scribner's Commentator*

Kenneth Scott . . . Professor at Western Reserve, who wrote
for *Scribner's Commentator*

January 8, 1942:

George Hill went to trial for perjury, and was convicted.

January 19:

Prescott Dennett . . . Again recalled for questioning on curious
connections with Fish-Hill-Viereck et al

January 26:

John R. Dougherty . . . Employee Guaranty Trust

January 28:

**Ralph Townsend, *Scribner's Commentator* editor, was
arrested for failure to register as a Japanese agent. Later
pleaded guilty and was sentenced.**

February 2:

Edward Corneaby . . . One of ex-Senator Lundeen's secretaries

Harriett Johnson . . . One of ex-Senator Lundeen's secretaries

Joel F. Webber . . . Worked for Dennett

Mary Katherine Webber . . . Worked for Dennett

February 10:

Hamilton Fish . . . The Congressman—recalled
Gordon Ferris . . . Western Union employee
Williams Nichols . . . Employee Guaranty Trust
Prescott Dennett . . . Recalled for more questions; he feigned
complete nervous breakdown
George Hill . . . Hamilton Fish's secretary again, from his jail cell

February 12:

Rush D. Holt . . . Former Senator from West Virginia
George Hill . . . There were rumors he had confessed

February 13:

Christopher J. Murphy . . . Doctor who examined Dennett

February 13-27-28:

Prescott Dennett . . . Again being questioned

March 23:

Charles S. Payson . . . New York financier and *Scribner's Com-*
mentator angel
T. H. Tetens . . . Expert on Nazi propaganda
William Griffin . . . New York *Enquirer* publisher

March 24:

J. Wesley Adams . . . State Department employee
William Griffin . . . Connected with Ham Fish and Dennett

* * * *

From here on, I shall give just the names of those who appeared during certain periods. A continued chronological listing would be repetitious because the Grand Jury worked long hours nearly every day, and many of the witnesses were not only recalled on later days of the same week but sometimes on the same day. We are also eliminating from further listing many of the miscellaneous, voluntary witnesses who appeared without fee (such as postal employees and "experts")

who could furnish corroborating testimony). It should also be understood that the Department of Justice staff questioned literally hundreds of other witnesses for technical and corroborating evidence which was not presented to the Grand Jury.

From April 2 to (and including) April 9, 1942:

James B. Brooks . . . From Riggs National Bank
Dillard Stokes . . . Reporter for *Washington Post*
 Miss Helen Boyer . . . Employee in Congressman Hoffman's office
 Thomas J. Ford . . . *Irish World* newspaper
 Maureen P. Ford . . . Daughter of above
 James McDermott . . . Editor of *Gaelic American*
 Frederick W. Foerster . . . Professor of Geopolitics. Expert on
 Nazi propaganda
 William Griffin . . . Publisher of New York *Enquirer*
 Charles Hudson . . . Anti-Semitic publisher of Omaha
 William B. Hudson . . . Son of above
 Avis N. Hudson . . . Wife of Charles Hudson

From April 10 through April 16:

Wm. Robert Lyman, Jr. . . . National Workers League, Detroit ✓
 Guenther Ferdinand Hansen-Sturm . . . ~~Romanoff Caviar~~
 Company
 Charles F. Connolly . . . From *Irish Echo*, Brooklyn, N. Y.
 Charles Hudson . . . Also a co-worker with Elizabeth Dilling
 Mrs. David (Frieda) Stanley . . . United Mothers of America,
 Cleveland
 Gerald B. Winrod . . . Wichita, Kansas, publisher
 Clare E. Hoffman . . . Congressman from Michigan
 Helen Boyer . . . From Hoffman's office ✓
 James McGee . . . Guaranty Trust Company, New York City
 Elmer J. Garner . . . Another hate sheet publisher—since deceased
 David Baxter . . . West Coast hate sheet publisher

Note: During this week, Charles Hudson was jailed by the Court for refusing to answer questions put to him by the Grand Jury. He later relented and promised to talk.

From April 17 through April 29:

Michael Ahearn . . . Co-worker with Joe Kamp and Cathrine Curtis
 Baxter, Garner, Hudson . . . Recalled
 Mrs. Letitia Goode . . . Colonial Dames of America—part of American Coalition setup
 Clare Hoffman . . . The Congressman again
 Helen Boyer . . . The Congressman's office help
 Gerald Winrod . . . Again
 Herman D. Kissinger . . . Small time song writer from Kansas City with interesting Ku Klux Klan connection
 Dillard Stokes . . . The Washington *Post*
 M. E. Jager . . . Reporter for Wichita, Kansas, *Beacon*
 Dr. Maud S. DeLand . . . Once a student in Germany and lively propagandist
 E. P. Schwartz . . . Editor of Coughlin's publication ✕
 W. R. Lyman . . . National Workers League
 Cora Quinlan . . . Clerk in Father Coughlin's office
 May Schulte . . . Coughlin clerk
 Marie Rhodes . . . Coughlin clerk
 Eugenia Burke . . . Coughlin secretary
 Bernice Marks . . . Coughlin clerk

May 1 through May 14:

Alberta Ward . . . Bookkeeper for *Social Justice* ✕
 E. Perrin Schwartz . . . Editor of *Social Justice* ✕
 Frank Traznik . . . Research worker for *Social Justice*
 Nagene Bethune . . . Numerologist—distributor of franked material
 Donald A. Campbell . . . Cuneo Press of Chicago—Printer for *Social Justice*
 Eugenia Burke . . . Secretary to Father Coughlin ✕
 Marie Rhodes . . . Clerk for *Social Justice*
 Bernard J. O'Connor . . . Rewrite man for *Social Justice* ✕
 Edward A. Kinsky . . . Once president of old Social Justice Publishing Company

Philip Cortelyou Johnson . . . Foreign correspondent of *Social Justice*—in Germany ✕
 Francis P. Moran . . . Christian Front, Boston ✕
 Mrs. F. P. Moran . . . Wife of above ✕

May 21 through June 12:

Lt. Bernard T. D'Arcy . . . New York distributor of *Social Justice*
 Helen Boyer . . . Secretary to Congressman Hoffman
 Catherine P. Baldwin . . . "The Defenders of the Constitution of U. S."
 Frank P. Keelon . . . One time in charge of distribution of *Social Justice*
 Prescott Dennett . . . Familiar by now to all Grand Jurors
 Howard Victor Broenstrupp . . . The "Count Spiridovich" who worked with Pelley, Smythe, etc.
 Clare Hoffman . . . The Congressman again
 Bertrand H. Roberts . . . Gibson Press of Washington
 Dillard Stokes . . . Washington *Post* reporter — *Dillard*
 William Griffin . . . ~~Publisher of New York~~ *Enquirer*
 Eugene Nelson Sanctuary . . . Anti-Semitic Christian Defenders—pamphleteer

June 18 through June 29:

Dillard Stokes . . . Washington *Post* reporter
 John Metcalfe . . . Former reporter for Chicago *Times*
 G. H. Willums . . . Printer for Winrod
 Newton Jenkins . . . Chicago anti-Semite—since deceased
 George Djamgaroff . . . Registered agent Dominican Republic and close friend of Congressman Fish
 Charles Hudson . . . Omaha pamphleteer
 William Griffin . . . New York *Enquirer*
 Court Asher . . . Muncie, Indiana, hate sheet publisher
 Robert E. Haycock . . . Riggs National Bank
 Sigfrid Hauck . . . Flanders Hall again

July Extended Term

July 7 through July 17:

Sigfrid Hauck . . . More Flanders Hall

Curt O. Krauss . . . Market Printing Company, Chicago

Otto Albert Willumeit . . . One of Chicago Bund leaders

Joseph Kamp . . . Pamphleteer deluxe

Donald J. McDaniel . . . Chicago dentist—propaganda distributor

John Winter . . . Market Printing Company

Note: On July 21 the Grand Jury voted an indictment against 28 persons . . . charging them with conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces. (See page 48 for details.)

August 18 through August 20:

Charles E. Trays . . . Empire Trust

The last witnesses appeared on September 16. They were:

George Djamgaroff . . . Friend of Hamilton Fish

Geraldine Griffin Moore . . . William Griffin's sister and secretary, who worked at New York *Enquirer*

The extended term of this special Grand Jury expired in October, 1942. It had been in existence since July 2, 1941 . . . had heard approximately 221 witnesses (counting recalls).

During October, November and December, the Department of Justice used the October, 1942 regular-term Grand Jury to review and rehear witnesses listed as appearing before the first Grand Jury. I shall not give a complete listing of witnesses . . . as most were "recalls." But among the new names appeared the following:

Myrtle Flowers . . . Secretary to Gerald Winrod (Winrod was indicted for perjury)

Elmer Flowers . . . Her husband

George Deatherage . . . Knights of the White Camellia

Frank W. Clark . . . Tacoma, Washington—National Liberty Party

Lois de Lafayette Washburn . . . Tacoma, Washington—National Liberty Party

Henry D. Allen . . . West Coast anti-Semite

Warren Olney . . . Assistant Attorney General for California—now United States Marine Corps

Nicholas Roccaforte . . . Houston, Texas—former bodyguard for Winrod

Daniel Gilbert . . . Ran publication for Winrod in Washington

On January 4, 1943 this regular Grand Jury returned a superseding indictment against 33 individuals and one corporation, charging conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces.

On February 3, 1943, Attorney General Biddle announced that William Power Maloney had been removed from the "sedition case." Maloney was kicked upstairs as "Chief of the Trial Section." Shortly thereafter John Rogge was assigned to the case.

A special Grand Jury* was sworn in on October 26, 1943, to take the place of the second regular Grand Jury, whose extended term had expired.

* Names and addresses of the second Grand Jury to investigate sedition. Foreman: John W. Francis, 1414 Montague St., N.W. (Assistant manager of Washington Wholesale Drug Company); Adolph Dissin, 2013 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.; Leonard W. Rice, 5929 Fourth St., N.W.; John T. Talman, 1801 24th St., N.E.; Martin Burch, 1223 V St., S.E.; Thomas J. Donellan, 1233 Neal St., N.W.; Elizabeth E. Ansley, 2319 Huidekoper Pl., N.W.; John S. Downs, 4421 14th St., N.E.; Alma L. Rhame, 1900 Third St., N.W.; Arthur W. Lovoren, 215 Emerson St., N.W.; Joseph E. Fleming, 609 44th St., N.E.; Mary C. Anderson, 711 D St., N.E.; Edwin G. Thomas, 1346 Ritchie Pl., N.E.; Charles J. Burley, 613 E St., N.E.; Earl V. Conway, 930 Bellevue St., S.E.; Emma G. Sigworth, 1613 B St., S.E.; Vivian B. Ahearn, 2805 33rd St., S.E.; Thomas E. Fealy, 2525 Minnesota Ave., S.E.; Albert K. Goabel, 4915 Arkansas Ave., N.W.; Robert V. Russell, 3601 Chesapeake St., N.W.; John E. Kershaw, 1832 Wisconsin Ave., N.W.; Catherine F. Atwood, 7435 12th St., N.W.; Ethel L. M. Seward, 3709 Reservoir Rd., N.W.

This special Grand Jury, under guidance of the new prosecutor John Rogge, reviewed work of the previous jury. I will give the names and connections of most of the important witnesses—with the exception of court reporters and a long string of minor employees of the German Consulate in Washington.

* * * *

The Parade Continues after October 26, 1943:

Mary Leach . . . Secretary to Elizabeth Dilling
 Mrs. Lyrl Clark Van Hyning . . . We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Chicago
 Cathrine Curtis . . . Active in "mothers" groups
 Laura Ingalls . . . Aviatrix, who was convicted of being an unregistered German agent
 Julia Kraus . . . Associate of Ingalls, who introduced her to Von Gienanth of the German Embassy
 Dr. Francis Clair . . . Writer, who lived at Cairo Hotel
 Alice de Tarnowsky . . . Financial angel of Joe McWilliams
 John Roy Carlson . . . Author of *Under Cover*
 Edward Abbott . . . Worked with America First
 Douglas Stewart . . . *Scribner's Commentator*
 George Eggleston . . . *Scribner's Commentator* editor, but later with United States Navy
 John Gaede . . . Worked for *Scribner's Commentator*
 Dr. Robert M. W. Kempner . . . Formerly counselor to Minister of Interior of Prussia—expert on Nazi propaganda
 Ida Cooper . . . Pamphleteer of New York—friend of Dilling
 Frances Dugan . . . New York America First Committee
 Fritz Kuhn . . . *Fuehrer* of German American Bund
 X Phillip Johnson . . . Friend of Lawrence Dennis—traveled in Europe for Coughlin
 Prescott Dennett . . . Still same friend of Hill-Viereck-Fish-Lundeen

George Hill . . . Who had been convicted of perjury
George S. Viereck . . . Convicted Nazi agent
Frieda Gillar . . . Viereck's secretary
Maude DeLand . . . Washington propagandist
Evelyn Palmer . . . America First Committee
Count von Wrangell . . . America First Committee and other
 strange connections
Ann Spardell . . . Of German Consulate, plus many various
 minor employees of German Consulate
George Djamgaroff . . . Registered agent of Dominican Republic
 and friend of Ham Fish
Charles Gustav Lind . . . *Scribner's Commentator*
Guy Juenemann . . . A friend of George Deatherage
Michael Ahearn . . . Cathrine Curtis associate
Henry Allen . . . Mixed up with many of "suspects" on West
 Coast
Oscar Hume . . . Friend of Dennett

A third sedition indictment was returned on January 3, against 30 persons charging them with conspiring with the German Government to undermine the morale of the United States armed forces.

The third Grand Jury heard no witnesses after January 3, 1944.

2

Too Big (or too hot) to Handle

The cast of characters we have just given is larger than any you would find in a Broadway stage production.

There was drama behind those Grand Jury doors. A constant stream of witnesses . . . Congressmen, secretaries to Congressmen, clerks in Embassies, workers in publishers' and industrialists' offices, foreign agents, publishers of hate sheets and their wives, propaganda experts, government and private investigators, psychologists, reporters.

There was plenty of excitement in Washington while this huge drama was being rehearsed for presentation to the American people. The trouble is that the production never reached the final curtain. Perhaps it was too big a job for the stage directors.

Just what was accomplished after all of this hullabaloo?

In this chapter I shall summarize those actions of the Grand Juries which are known to the public, and the subsequent developments in the Federal Courts

which are also known to the public. One should be acquainted with this summary of public facts before one can understand the importance of other facts which have been kept hidden.

Three separate Grand Juries investigated sedition in the United States.

Twenty-three people served on each Jury, so a total of sixty-nine men and women, citizens of the District of Columbia, heard the witnesses called by the government.

The first witness appeared on September 12, 1941. The last witness was excused on January 3, 1944 . . . an elapsed time of two years, three months and twenty-two days.

To the best of our ability, we have figured that the Grand Jurors "sat" in officially scheduled hearings for approximately one hundred and thirty-five working days.

This estimate of working days does not include many more unknown extra days spent by the Grand Jury in private sessions, examining evidence and voting on indictments or other actions.

There is no accurate record of the cost of the Grand Jury investigations. A Congressman at one time introduced a resolution asking for a complete accounting. We understand that he did obtain a report, but admittedly not complete. There have been varying estimates of cost, ranging from \$50,000 to as high as \$500,000.

There were approximately 10,000 pages of type-written testimony, transcribed from notes made by

official court stenographers employed by the Department of Justice, but during the latter stages of the investigation much of the evidence presented to the Grand Jury was not transcribed from the stenographic notes into final typewritten manuscript. The estimate of 10,000 pages of manuscript does not include the hundreds (perhaps thousands) of pages of notes taken by Department of Justice staff members when they interviewed, or questioned, technical experts and other witnesses who gave corroborating evidence but who were not called formally before the Grand Jury.

On those 10,000 pages of manuscript and on the notes made by Department of Justice interrogators, a playwright could find the material for many melodramas . . . amazing stories of plots, intrigues and conspiracies to undermine this country.

But only an infinitesimal part of the manuscript has been made available to the public through the evidence presented in the few cases which reached the courts. Not one-half, not one-quarter, not one-tenth . . . possibly a bare 5 percent, or even less than that.

And while mentioning the number of typed pages of manuscript, we shouldn't forget the countless thousands of pages in the "trial briefs" prepared by Assistant Prosecutors: John T. M. Reddan, Joseph Burns and Jean Meyer.

On one visit to the Department of Justice offices, I saw two shelves of a standard bookcase completely occupied by bound volumes (one or more devoted to each of the defendants). What a story in those "trial briefs." But . . . *it's a secret.*

I shall review briefly now the actions people have heard about . . . or the actions they *could* learn about if they bothered to read the transcripts of the few trials which reached the courts.

First: The Grand Jury, on September 23, 1941, indicted Frank B. Burch, an attorney of Akron, Ohio, for failing to register as a German agent. This case compared to the others was of minor importance. Burch later on pleaded guilty and was fined \$1000. He was given probation on account of his age. He admitted doing work for the German Consulate in Cleveland; had furnished them with mailing lists and had supervised the mailing of German propaganda to selected names. The material he mailed included *Facts in Review*, published by the German Library of Information. Burch was simply a small time, lone-wolf opportunist and his operations were piddling when compared to other witnesses who appeared before the Grand Jury.

Second: The Grand Jury, on October 8, 1941, indicted George Sylvester Viereck, the author, poet, publicist and registered agent of German principals. He was charged with failure to give a true statement of all of his activities.

Subsequently, Viereck cost the taxpayers a lot of money by requiring three different trials. He was convicted on March 13, 1942, and sentenced to from eight months to two years imprisonment and fined \$500 on each of three counts, the terms of imprisonment to run consecutively.

Viereck appealed to the Court of Appeals, but it affirmed the conviction. On March 1, 1943, the judgment was reversed by the United States Supreme Court on a technicality . . . that the Jury had been erroneously charged by the trial Judge, although this erroneous charge was not the technical error upon which the Court based its reversal. The Supreme Court also saw fit to censure the Prosecuting Attorney, William Power Maloney, for "a too aggressive attitude" in handling the case. However, two of the Justices (Black and Douglas) in a strong dissenting opinion held his conduct of the case was entirely proper.

Strangely enough, the majority opinion overlooked entirely the fact that one of Viereck's lawyers was ejected from the Court Room for gratuitously insulting the Court and barred from ever again practicing in the District of Columbia.

Viereck was re-indicted on March 23, 1943, on six counts, charging him with failure to disclose:

That one of his foreign principals was the German Foreign Office.

Certain political activities on behalf of his disclosed principals (including his manipulation of the franking privilege).

That he financed, directed and controlled Flanders Hall.

Viereck went on trial again, but after a short start the Jury had to be dismissed because one of the Jurors had failed to reveal that she knew a lawyer in the Department of Justice.

The third trial finally got under way and Prosecu-

tors George McNulty and Albert Arent obtained a conviction against the Nazi agent on all six counts. Viereck was sentenced to from two to ten months imprisonment on each count, the terms of imprisonment to run consecutively.

The Viereck trials uncovered a small bit of the evidence which had been presented to the special Grand Juries investigating sedition.

It was definitely established that Viereck had worked for the German Government instead of "a German newspaper." Viereck wrote *Facts in Review*, published by the German Library of Information. Viereck also "owned" Flanders Hall, the book publishing company in New Jersey. Viereck also financed Prescott Dennett, the Washington publicity man, who organized several of the pre-war isolationist groups, such as Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee and Islands for War Debts Committee.

Viereck's agent, Dennett, also did some publicity work for Flanders Hall. He also contacted Senators and Congressmen for the purpose of getting material introduced into the *Congressional Record*, or for getting manuscripts written for Flanders Hall books.

It was established that Viereck used the office of Senator Lundeen (later killed in an airplane crash), for his off-the-record Washington headquarters. He wrote speeches for Senator Lundeen and had those speeches inserted into the *Congressional Record* for reprinting and mailing under the free Congressional frank. Viereck used Senator Lundeen's office to make telephone calls arranging for the reprinting and

mailing . . . most of the calls being placed to George Hill in the office of Congressman Hamilton Fish.

A few other facts were revealed during the Viereck trial, which we shall analyze later when discussing some of the facts which have not been disclosed.

Third: On October 24, 1941, the Grand Jury indicted George Hill, the secretary of Hamilton Fish, for perjury on two counts; first, that he denied knowing Viereck; and second, that he denied any knowledge of the contents of mailbags which were spirited away from Prescott Dennett's office and which landed in Fish's storeroom in the House Office Building.

There was hell to pay in Washington over that indictment. Attacks were leveled quickly at Maloney by the vermin press. Several Congressmen joined with Hamilton Fish in efforts to get the indictment quashed. Fish did everything within his power to prove that the indictment was an effort to "smear" *him* politically. He avoided, for many weeks, a subpoena to appear before the Grand Jury and did not appear until December 5 . . . two days before Pearl Harbor. In spite of all efforts to kill the case . . . George Hill went to trial on January 8, 1942.

The story of George Hill's trial has been told many times, in *Black Mail* in particular. I am giving a summarized description here, which will make the rest of our story much easier to understand. Here is what actually happened:

The Grand Jury, during September and October of 1941, was trying to find out all the ramifications of

the connections between George Sylvester Viereck and Prescott Dennett. Dennett was a very reluctant witness, and it's no secret that the Grand Jurors were pretty much fed up with Dennett's evasive answers. So the Department of Justice investigators subpoenaed all of the files and personal possessions in Dennett's office, which he maintained in his apartment where he lived with his doting mother.

Maloney, acting on his own initiative, visited Dennett at his apartment, and there, to his amazement, saw thousands of franked envelopes scattered about the apartment, as well as several empty mail sacks.

As he was leaving, a neighbor of Dennett tipped off Maloney that shortly before his arrival, a House Post Office truck had called at Dennett's apartment to remove "a great number of filled mailbags." Dennett obviously had been trying to get rid of a lot of "hot" material.

The Grand Jury decided to follow the trail of the mailbags. During the search, the Department of Justice prosecutors found that some of the mailbags had been delivered to the office of Congressman Hamilton Fish. George Hill, Fish's secretary, was called for questioning. He denied all knowledge of the mailbags. He claimed at first that Dennett had called him by 'phone and wanted to send back five hundred copies of a speech of Hamilton Fish in franked envelopes. He said he sent a truck for the five hundred speeches. In reality, there were twenty full mail sacks taken from Dennett's office on Hill's order. These mail sacks con-

tained the franked material of about twenty Congressmen including Fish.

A few of us had known, sometime before this happened, that George Hill was really the guiding genius of the racket which had been employed by the Nazis for getting economical distribution of their propaganda.

From subsequent developments, we know that George Hill was given every consideration and courteous treatment. He was called back repeatedly. The prosecutors and the Grand Jury foreman explained to him many times the penalties for perjury. But he continued to insist that he knew nothing about the mailbags and that he did not know George Sylvester Viereck.

So . . . since he was holding up the whole investigation, the Grand Jury had no other alternative but to indict him for perjury. Which it did.

Hamilton Fish, in the meantime, had been making frantic explanations on the floor of the House of Representatives . . . explanations which were identical with the statements made by George Hill to the Grand Jury.

Fish even went so far as to state on the floor of the House that what Hill had told the Grand Jury was the truth. Later, at Viereck's trial it was disclosed that *it was Fish who had introduced Hill to Viereck.*

When the Hill case came to trial, it was easy sailing for the prosecution. Hill was defended by John O'Connor, a former Congressman and a friend of Hamilton Fish. The trial brought out these very simple facts.

George Hill received about \$2000 per year for his

work in Hamilton Fish's office . . . but he seemed to have plenty of money to spend.

Records from the Government Printing Office revealed that George Hill had been ordering thousands upon thousands of reprints from the *Congressional Record* . . . using the franks of many Congressmen. He had also been arranging to ship bulk quantities of these reprints to various designated individuals and organizations throughout the United States, who in turn would address the blank, but franked, envelopes to their particular mailing list.

It was definitely established that George Hill actually did know George Sylvester Viereck . . . had talked with him at Lundeen's office by telephone and face-to-face in Hamilton Fish's office, where he received cash "tips" and instructions. The real truth was that George Hill was working under the direction of George Sylvester Viereck.

In other words, the office of Congressman Fish was being used as a purchasing office by the Nazi propagandists.

It worked like this:

1. Viereck would write or inspire some propaganda material which he wanted inserted into the *Congressional Record*. He would turn over the manuscript to Prescott Dennett, who in turn would give it to George Hill.
2. Hill would arrange with the friendly secretaries of certain Congressmen to have this material inserted into the *Congressional Record*. Of course, in some phases of the program Vier-

eck actually wrote the speeches and *gave them* to the Congressmen himself.

3. After the pro-German material was inserted into the *Congressional Record*, Hill would find out from Dennett or Viereck how many reprints were needed by the various stooge organizations throughout the country. Dennett or Viereck would give him the money and he would order the reprints from the *Congressional Record* office in the Capitol Building . . . paying cash on the line for the amount involved.
4. Hill would then arrange with the Government Printing Office or the House Mailing Room to have the bulk packages shipped, or if the addressing was to be done in Washington either Hill or Dennett attended to that.

Hill was really the production man for the Nazi advertising agency. And he went even further than that. He also made arrangements with the secretaries of various isolationist Congressmen to save the office "fan mail." That is, the letters complimenting the Congressmen for their isolationist views. Hill arranged to have girls type filing cards from these letters. He weeded out the duplicates and at Fish's direction "sold" these very valuable *preferred* lists to Viereck.

One can very readily understand from this explanation why Hill was so frantically trying to get those twenty mailbags out of Prescott Dennett's apartment, when he learned that Dennett's office contents had been subpœnaed by the Grand Jury. Hill did not want the

Grand Jury to see the mailbags which bore tags from the Government Printing Office addressed to Congressman Fish, in care of George Hill. He did not want the Grand Jurors to see the contents of the twenty bags, because they contained, not the five hundred franked speeches of Hamilton Fish but, the franked material of about twenty Congressmen. Such a disclosure would, he figured, expose his racket. But the Grand Jury already knew about the racket . . . so his perjury was in vain.

Hill's attorney did not let him take the witness stand in defense. The Trial Jury brought in a verdict of guilty on both counts. Hill, looking pathetically crushed, was sentenced to four years in jail . . . but the sentence, later on, was reduced to two years because of his eventual change of heart and his willingness to confess the perjury and appear at the trial of George Sylvester Viereck, where he admitted receiving money from both Prescott Dennett and Viereck.

That is about the substance of the famous Hill case. It's about the end of the case so far as the Grand Jury records are concerned . . . because much of the "contemporary" evidence collected by the Grand Jury has not been revealed. Perhaps it never will be revealed. It's a secret.

Fourth: On January 28, 1942, Ralph Townsend, one of the editors of *Scribner's Commentator*, was arrested in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, with five other persons after being indicted by another Washington, D. C. Grand Jury on charges of conspiracy to conceal the

fact that they were unregistered agents of the Japanese Government.

Although another Grand Jury brought in the indictment, the earlier investigations under Maloney were doubtless responsible for this case as well, since Ralph Townsend and other *Scribner's Commentator* employees appeared before it during the closing days of 1941.

Townsend had failed to register under the Foreign Registration Act, although he was acting as publicity agent and public relations counsel for the Japanese Committee on Trade and Information, which had received in excess of \$175,000 from the Japanese Consulate to disseminate pro-Japanese propaganda.

Townsend pleaded guilty and was sentenced to from eight months to two years imprisonment.

A few other minor actions by the Grand Jury should be noted.

Bessie Feagin, circulation manager of *Scribner's Commentator*, was haled into court several times for refusing to answer questions. George Eggleston and Douglas Stewart, executives of *Scribner's Commentator*, were brought before the Court to explain why they had been coaching Bessie Feagin prior to her appearance before the Grand Jury. Later on, Douglas Stewart was cited for contempt and was sentenced to three months in jail for refusing to answer questions put to him by the Grand Jury.

* * * *

Now we come to the sedition indictments. Not many people in the country understand what they were all

about. There has been so much disconcerting hulla-baloo. Perhaps we can simplify the cases.

There were three separate indictments. The first was voted on July 21, 1942. A superseding indictment was returned on January 4, 1943, to include additional defendants. But shortly after that indictment, the Attorney General removed William Power Maloney and substituted John Rogge as prosecutor.

Rogge, announcing that he intended to bring in "a new and entirely different case from Maloney's" started in all over again and a third indictment was returned on January 3, 1944. By that time almost an entire year had gone by.

In order to simplify this complicated mix-up, we will list the names of those indicted in three comparative columns.

By examining this list one can see the changes made in the cast of characters . . . those who were indicted three times; those who were dropped in the last indictment; and those who were added.

How the Three Indictments Compare

On July 21, 1942, the following 28 were indicted:

Court Asher
David J. Baxter
Otto Brennermann
H. Victor Broenstrupp
Oscar Brumback
Prescott Freese Dennett
C. Leon De Aryan
Hudson de Priest
Hans Diebel
Elizabeth Dilling
Robert Edward Edmondson
Elmer J. Garner
James F. Garner
William Griffin
Charles B. Hudson
Ellis O. Jones
William Kullgren
William Robert Lyman, Jr.
Donald McDaniel
Robert Noble
William Dudley Pelley
Eugene Nelson Sanctuary
Herman Max Schwinn
Edward James Smythe
Ralph Townsend
James C. True
✓ George Sylvester Viereck
Gerald B. Winrod

On January 4, 1943, the following 33 persons, and one corporation, were indicted:

Court Asher
David J. Baxter
Otto Brennermann
H. Victor Broenstrupp
Oscar Brumback
Prescott Freese Dennett
C. Leon De Aryan
Hudson de Priest
Hans Diebel
Elizabeth Dilling
Robert Edward Edmondson
Elmer J. Garner
James F. Garner
William Griffin
Charles B. Hudson
Ellis O. Jones
William Kullgren
William Robert Lyman, Jr.
Donald McDaniel
Robert Noble
William Dudley Pelley
Eugene Nelson Sanctuary
Herman Max Schwinn
Edward James Smythe
Ralph Townsend
James C. True
George Sylvester Viereck
Gerald B. Winrod

Added

Frank W. Clark
George E. Deatherage
Frank (or Franz) K. Ferenz
New York *Enquirer*
Paquita de Shishmareff
Lois de Lafayette Washburn

On January 3, 1944, the following 30 were indicted:

* *
David J. Baxter
* *
H. Victor Broenstrupp
* *
Prescott Freese Dennett
* *
* *
Hans Diebel
Elizabeth Dilling
Robert Edward Edmondson
Elmer J. Garner
* *
* *
Charles B. Hudson
Ellis O. Jones
* *
William Robert Lyman, Jr.
* *
Robert Noble
William Dudley Pelley
Eugene Nelson Sanctuary
Herman Max Schwinn
Edward James Smythe
* *
James C. True
George Sylvester Viereck
Gerald B. Winrod

Frank W. Clark
George E. Deatherage
Frank K. Ferenz
* *
* *
Lois de Lafayette Washburn

Added

Garland L. Alderman
Lawrence Dennis
Ernest Frederik Elmhurst
August Klapprott
Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze
Joseph E. McWilliams
E. J. Parker Sage
Peter Stahrenberg

* * (means dropped)

It is necessary to make another very searching comparison between the first, second and third indictments for sedition. Such a comparison will reveal facts of tremendous significance.

In all three indictments the Grand Jury, in addition to naming the accused individuals, also listed:

1. Certain publications as being used by the accused to circulate their planned propaganda.
2. Certain organizations as being *channels* through which propaganda flowed.

The "Maloney" indictments listed: 30 publications, 26 organizations.

The "Rogge" indictment listed: 42 publications, 35 organizations.

But a close examination of the two different sets of lists reveals these startling facts:

Publications: A number of German publications were added to Rogge's list, including *Mein Kampf*, *Der Stuermer* and *The National Socialist Party Programme*. Noticeably absent from the third indictment were:

Joe Kamp's *Constitutional Educational League Bulletin*

Scribner's Commentator (of all things)

Lord Lothian vs. Lord Lothian

Gerald Smith's *the Cross and the Flag*

That is, those four had been named in the first two indictments but were dropped after Maloney was separated from the case.

Organizations: The Maloney indictments listed 26 organizations as channels through which propaganda flowed. The Rogge indictment increased the number on that list to 35. But 15 German organizations were added, including the Reich's Foreign Office. Significantly omitted were these names which appeared prominently in the first indictments:

The America First Committee

National Committee to Keep America Out of
Foreign Wars (Fish)

Citizens Committee to Keep America Out of War
Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee (admittedly a Viereck Committee)

War Debts Defense Committee (admittedly a Viereck Committee)

Coalition of Patriotic Societies

Crusading Mothers of America

Citizens No Foreign Wars Coalition

Constitutional Educational League

We, the Mothers, United

We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America

The secrecy surrounding Maloney's dismissal can be punctured slightly by examining those omissions. Congressmen, *or their intimate friends*, were involved in the publications and the organizations eliminated from the third indictment . . . as we indicate very clearly later on.

Only the third indictment was brought to trial . . . although the other two remained in force during the trial.

That trial was terminated by the death of Judge Eicher after seven months and one week of turbulent and chaotic courtroom misbehavior.

* * * *

I shall now attempt an analysis of the background of the sedition indictments. It is of course only one person's interpretation, but it coincides with the opinions of hundreds of persons I've interviewed within the past months.

Some of these observations will not be popular in certain quarters in Washington. But the truth should be known.

February 3, 1943, was perhaps the blackest day in the investigation of subversive activities in the United States.

On that day, Attorney General Biddle announced to the press that he had appointed William Power Maloney as "Chief of the Trial Section." It was hinted that Maloney might be too busy to handle the sedition cases any longer.

The news of that change came to Maloney, as he sat at his desk in the Justice Department, from a newspaper reporter who had just read it on the news ticker.

When the shocked friends of the anti-Nazi prosecutor received the news, they were reminded of a remark which he had made on the day he was appointed as Special Assistant to the Attorney General to investigate subversive activities in the United States.

To a few friends he confided:

"God help America and everything it stands for if Biddle ever backs down on this case. We've got to

go fast. The time to try the case is now . . . not five years from now. We are going to bump into some of the most powerful forces in the country. The Department of Justice will be attacked from all sides. Pressure will be brought to bear to stop the investigation. Once started, the prosecution must never stop—until the whole story has been told to the American people and the guilty ones punished. If we don't, these people will have been made into martyrs and given a license to preach hatred of every kind. Anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-everything will be worse than it was before."

That was William Power Maloney talking to his friends and well-wishers back in the summer of 1941. Asked if he had any doubt that Biddle had the fortitude to withstand such a barrage, he replied, "I don't know, I just don't know."

Following the indictment of George Hill, Maloney was the target for all the venom manufactured by the subversive elements in the country. He was the first man in the government to reveal publicly and officially, the connection between the Nazi propagandists and members of Congress. That was an unforgivable sin! The actions of Congress must never be questioned by an executive branch of the government.

The annual appropriation for the budget of all executive departments is fixed by Congress, remember. It's a well oiled custom in Washington that Congress must be handled with kid gloves by executive departments . . . cautiously looking forward to the next appropriation period.

Shortly after the indictment of George Hill, the bat-

tle started. Maloney was urged to drop the case. When the Grand Jury subpoenaed Hamilton Fish, the Congressional moves were astounding. The House of Representatives passed a resolution instructing Hamilton Fish *not to obey* the subpoena until the matter had been studied by the Judiciary Committee. Eventually, the House instructed Fish to answer the subpoena "if he could do so at a time which did not interfere with his duties as a Congressman." But that action came only after the most intense and indignant pressure upon Congress by patriotic organizations (and, incidentally, by a majority of honest Congressmen) who wanted to see the truth brought to light.

All during the trial of George Hill, various Congressmen tried to discredit the case. And when, on July 21, 1942, the first special Grand Jury brought in its indictment against twenty-eight persons . . . Maloney became one of the most hated men in Washington and throughout the country. But he was hated by those who did not hate the Fascists.

Senators Wheeler and Nye made speeches, or issued statements, about the sedition case. Congressmen Hoffman, Fish, Day and others, denounced the "persecution." Nye shouted, "These people are no more guilty than I am." In that he may have been right. Wheeler said that it was a mockery of justice. Clare Hoffman sprang to the defense of these poor "persecuted Christians." Every subversive sheet in the country echoed the remarks of these helpful Congressmen. In many cases, vermin sheets such as the *Broom* and *Western Voice* printed the entire text of defense speeches such

as that by Congressman Clare Hoffman of Michigan.

Joe Kamp, the pamphleteer, brought out a special booklet painting William Power Maloney as a monster, a stooge for the "international bankers." Prescott Dennett, by then drafted into the army, used the soldiers' free mailing privilege to send an appeal for money to defend himself against this "little courtroom Napoleon" who was persecuting "a defender of his country."

Nye and Wheeler, in Senate speeches, roundly condemned Maloney and *Post* reporter Stokes for violating rules of secrecy in Grand Jury proceedings. Congressman Hoffman made an hour-long speech claiming violation of secrecy and asked for an investigation. What the protesting Congressmen didn't realize was . . . *and this is important* . . . that reporters and private investigators knew most of the facts long before the Grand Jury heard them. The reporter-investigators gave the Department of Justice prosecutors many tips on where to go to get certain facts or material; whom to call; and what would be discovered. In spite of their closeness to the case, the reporter-investigators leaned over backwards to avoid violating Grand Jury rules.

Even though I was frequently in and out of the Department of Justice offices for a period of more than a year, and saw bound transcripts of testimony on the prosecutors' desks, I never once lifted a cover or peeped on a page. I wanted to be able to swear to that any time I was challenged. Never in my close connection with the case has a Department of Justice Prosecutor or Assistant Prosecutor, secretary or stenographer, told me what happened in the Grand Jury

room. I was in the Grand Jury room myself for long hours but my testimony was no secret, since I had previously published all facts revealed or had discussed them publicly with Congressmen or government officials. The charges against Maloney by Nye, Wheeler, Hoffman, Fish, et al, were *100 percent false*.

The charges, too, that the sedition case was a Jewish plot (widely stage-whispered around) were equally ridiculous.

The six top reporter-investigators who furnished many of the tips to the Grand Jury were 100 percent non-Jewish. I will swear to that in any court or at any investigation.

Nearly every Saturday afternoon in Washington, the lawyers for the sedition case defendants met in the office of Senator Nye to plan their strategy, which centered mostly on getting rid of the demon William Power Maloney. The attorney for George Sylvester Viereck was a frequent visitor at Nye's office. During some of these planning meetings, other members of Congress appeared to offer their advice.

It was the biggest and most concerted hush-hush drive in the history of legal procedure in the United States.

And why?

William Power Maloney had detected the real central plan of Fascist propaganda strategy in the United States.

During the Hill and Viereck cases, he had clearly demonstrated the Nazi strategy. Maloney kept referring to Viereck's theories about propaganda. He read those

theories into the record from George Sylvester Viereck's own book *The Germs of Hate*. In that book Viereck told about propaganda activities in the first World War.

According to Viereck, "Propaganda is a campaign camouflaging its origin, its motive, or both, conducted for the purpose of obtaining a specific objective by manipulating public opinion."

Viereck also said, "Pacifism was the sincere creed among the Americans. If peace-loving Americans understood and conducted a campaign for an embargo on arms, they are acting entirely within their rights. But if the expense of the campaign was defrayed by German money contributed under various aliases, the sponsors of the movement became the victims or accomplices of propaganda, for in that case the real object was not to enforce peace but to aid the German Government by withholding assistance from Germany's foe."

And again George Sylvester Viereck explained the purposes of propaganda: "The objective of German propaganda was threefold; to strengthen and replenish Germany; to weaken and embarrass Germany's foes; *and to keep America out of the war* by spreading the truth as the Germans saw it."

Maloney had discovered that this was the way George Sylvester Viereck was working propaganda in World War II—using American fronts. Maloney pushed that point home as hard as possible in his first two cases and in his calling of witnesses before the Grand Jury.

Maloney realized that the clever propagandist works surreptitiously in the background. He carries on his practices through the medium of citizens gullible enough to be taken in. He seeks Americans too unintelligent, too unwisely sincere, to know better or those who are absorbed in similarly minded activities and who fail to investigate their associates carefully.

Or the clever propagandist seeks the assistance of those American citizens who welcome the opportunity of finding a medium of expression without inquiring into the persons or interests backing it. The propagandist's sole hope is to enlist the aid of individuals who seek to destroy the people's confidence in their elected leaders even though such people, mistaken as they are in their conclusions, believe they are acting patriotically. Maloney had found how George Sylvester Viereck was working propaganda for the German Government (and quite possibly also . . . for the cooperating Japanese Government). The first two cases proved it.

Viereck had necessarily discarded the purely German propaganda set-ups, such as the German Library of Information, the German Railroads, the American Fellowship Forum, Transocean News Service, etc. Viereck's propaganda was hiding behind American fronts, such as the committees he had either helped to organize or to finance. The Islands for War Debts, the Committee to Keep Us Out of Foreign Wars, the America First Committee, etc. Viereck had managed to get Congressional assistance for his propaganda campaign.

It was only natural that the members of Congress and certain leaders in industrial life who had been suctioned into the campaign were anxious to keep their names out of it. They were just as frantic to keep the truth from being known as was George Hill, the \$2000 a year clerk in Fish's office, who tried to hamstring the Federal Grand Jury by spiriting twenty mailbags out of Prescott Dennett's office.

That was the real reason for the campaign to oust or discredit William Power Maloney.

Finally, the struggle became too severe for Attorney General Biddle . . . who wasn't any too anxious to tackle the case in the first place. He was ordered to do so by President Roosevelt back in the early part of 1941, remember.

It's not a secret in Washington that Senator Wheeler finally visited Attorney General Biddle in his Department of Justice office. It was a stormy, violent session. Wheeler threatened to instigate a complete investigation of the Department of Justice on other matters as well unless Maloney was removed from the sedition case.

Maloney challenged Wheeler to go ahead and investigate and stated he would demand open hearings so that the public could judge who was in the right.

For reasons best known to himself, Biddle succumbed to the attack and Maloney was removed without being personally notified.

Even though Maloney is the best informed man in the United States on propaganda techniques . . . since his removal from the sedition case, he has not been

consulted about any of the details of the first two indictments, nor of the third. After hearing hundreds of witnesses, after interviewing hundreds of other witnesses and experts, after conducting his own personal investigations throughout the country . . . his experience and knowledge were suddenly sidetracked because of pressure on the part of those who did not want the truth known.

I have few complaints against John Rogge. He was called upon to change the case around . . . on orders from higher ups . . . to change its complexion and its legal theory.

After hearing many of the former witnesses and some new ones, and after reviewing all of the old testimony, Rogge's new Grand Jury brought in a third indictment. It differs from the other two indictments in one very important point. While the first two indictments charged conspiracy among the defendants to undermine the morale of the armed forces . . . Rogge felt that it was necessary to connect the defendants *with the German Government*. He planned to prove that each one of the defendants had worked in some manner with the German Government and had received money for doing the work. Many of the experts from the outside, who had studied the propaganda set-up, counselled against this idea. It was not necessary to connect each defendant with the German Government. It was only necessary to prove that these defendants, working under the guidance of George Sylvester Viereck and possibly other German agents, had carried on a planned conspiracy to undermine

the morale of the armed forces . . . whether or not they received provable remuneration for their efforts.

To tell the disturbing truth . . . the third indictment simply complicated the case needlessly. A good simile would be . . . like a manufacturer of safety pins going out to buy a tin plate mill, a mine, and a railroad . . . and going broke because of his inability to handle all the details.

The new (appeasement) policy of the Department of Justice sidetracked much of the pertinent evidence, especially that evidence which embarrassed Congressmen who had been involved in the propaganda campaign.

The tip-off on the Department's appeasement program was contained in a closing paragraph of John Rogge's opening speech to the Jury in the sedition trial.

"While it is true that many American citizens in good faith opposed our steps to prepare ourselves for the coming attack and to help fight the Nazi, the defendants cannot be identified with such persons, as they undoubtedly will try to have you believe, since the intent of the defendants was not a patriotic one, not an American one, but an intent to promote the Nazi cause throughout the world."

Prior to that opening address, several newspaper reporters in Washington had commented on the Justice Department's new attitude toward the sedition case . . . and that there obviously was an effort to appease members of Congress and other individuals who did not want their names involved.

Before the trial started, John Rogge repeatedly emphasized in interviews that the proceedings would not be aimed against "sincere isolationists" but would

be designed to punish "American Quislings" who were active partners in the world-wide Nazi conspiracy.

Possibly as a result of this emphasis, many of the Senators and Congressmen who were critical of Maloney and the previous (simpler but broader) indictments, refrained from any large scale bombardment of Rogge's case.

The honeymoon didn't last long, for soon the *Chicago Tribune* and *Washington Times-Herald* began an all-out attack, ably assisted by statements from Wheeler, Hoffman, Rankin, Taft, Langer and other members of Congress.

The third indictment avoided the important point which Maloney had pounded home in the Hill and Viereck trials and in the first two indictments. Maloney would have proved that George Sylvester Viereck and his cooperators were working behind the skirts of American organizations and institutions . . . while the third indictment avoided this by charging, and thus requiring much needless and obviously difficult proof, that there was a direct relationship between the individuals indicted (and not their helpers) and the German Government.

As to the sedition trial . . . we will dismiss that nightmare with not much more than a feeble wave of the hand.

Three months before the trial started, a lawyer friend of ours made a forecast.

He prophesied that unless the Trial Judge, the Chief Prosecutor and his assistants were tough . . .

there would be chaos in the courtroom. He predicted that the defense would introduce mass obstructionist tactics. He claimed that the prosecution would have to demand sensible, fixed rules of procedure. Irritating defense tactics would have to be "knocked down" in the first few hours.

Our lawyer friend knew what he was talking about. He had been in Germany. He had seen the courtroom tactics of Hitler and his satellites during the Munich trials.

The much publicized and spectacular sedition case opened on April 17, 1944, amid boos and catcalls. Thirty defendants and their twenty-two lawyers elbowed into temporary seats and benches.

The crowded press section resembled a concentration camp. Mobs of relatives and curiosity seekers howled to get in the courtroom. Only a few succeeded. The selection of the jurors took about a month. On the day the trial really started (May 17, 1944), when bewildered Prosecutor Rogge attempted to make his opening speech to the Jury . . . the boos, catcalls and confusion became worse. Reporters and legal observers looked on in amazement and disbelief. This couldn't be happening! It was the most outrageous and unbelievable spectacle in the history of legal procedure in the United States.

The trial Judge was a kindly, considerate man. He leaned over backward trying to be fair and lenient. But he was not equipped, either by experience or

physical stamina, to compete with saboteurs of order and justice.

Gradually, the crowd at the press tables dwindled. Newspapers became openly critical of the conduct of the case. The government consumed weary months of time trying to introduce evidence which would not have been introduced if the case had been tried on either one of the first two indictments. The harrassed and heckled prosecutors presented a boring parade of documents which were supposed to prove that the German Government had issued instructions to its agents in the United States to conduct a campaign of disruption and intolerance against the government and against racial or religious minorities. The Jury yawned . . . and became more fidgety.

The government prosecutors remained relatively calm. Too calm.

Upon the introduction of every piece of evidence, at nearly every question, sometimes at the reading of a single sentence, lawyers and defendants would pop up all over the room shouting, "I object."

Judge Eicher would patiently overrule the objection. The defense attorney would ask for an exception. "It may be noted."

Another lawyer would jump to his feet. "I wish to second the objection and second the exception." Another lawyer would repeat the line.

Lawrence Dennis, acting as his own attorney, would join the chorus and then wade in on a speech against the government . . . using the trial as a sounding board.

The trial was even delayed at its start because

Edward James Smythe took it on the lam and had to be tracked down and arrested by the FBI before he could join the other defendants. Thereafter Smythe used the courtroom for his drunken clowning.

The Judge repeatedly cited various lawyers and defendants for contempt . . . and fined them. One lawyer, Laughlin, was thrown out of the case. The trial was delayed for weary days while another Court heard the contempt action and Laughlin's fantastic charges against Judge Eicher. Other lawyers squabbled with their clients over whether they should be defending them or not. Some defendants wanted to defend themselves. The court-appointed lawyers kicked because of the time lost from their regular business. During the excitement one defendant died. Others got sick. One evening after the Judge had retired, there was a disgraceful mob scene . . . with prosecutors, defendants and their attorneys shouting at each other and at the United States Marshal over some incidental detail concerning the seating arrangements in the courtroom.

In the opinion of most observers, the defense succeeded in a well-planned, deliberate attempt to disrupt orderly court procedure and to make a farce of the sedition trial. The befuddled prosecution did not succeed in overcoming these attempts or in fighting very hard against them.

Many newspapers came out in the open and condemned the sedition trial and the handling of it.

As one editor put it, "After all, this is a trial of men

and women accused of sedition, not a contest in befuddlement."

The prosecutors plodded along trying to get their evidence into the record . . . but out of approximately 4400 pieces of evidence which the government had planned to present, less than 1000 reached the Jurors. The real meat of the testimony heard by the Federal Grand Jurors had not reached the courtroom.

On the afternoon of November 30, 1944, I sat in Federal Court and watched many of the defendants *addressing franked envelopes*. My curiosity aroused, I discovered that the franked envelopes bore the signature of Senator William Langer. Inside the envelope was a reprint of Langer's speech in the Senate on September 3, 1944, during which (for two hours) he defended in detail each of those on trial for sedition. I shall have more to report about that later . . . but the fact remains that here during the largest trial for sedition in the history of the country . . . courtroom dignity was at such a low ebb that the defendants were allowed to sit around and address franked envelopes of a United States Senator. We learned later that afternoon, after noticing Judge Eicher's confused and nervous condition, that he was terribly upset over this insult to his court. We also learned that Judge Eicher held a conference in his office during a temporary recess, at which he considered citing all of the defendants and possibly the Senator himself, for contempt of court. But the Judge finally decided that because there had been so much Congressional opposition to the case so far, he would not make the antagonism worse. He

continued presiding through an afternoon of even more than usual chaos.

He monotonously repeated in a low voice, with head bowed, "Objection overruled" . . . "Exception may be noted." Late in the afternoon, he looked up at the clock and faintly whispered, "We will adjourn now until tomorrow at the usual time."

Judge Eicher died in his sleep that night.

The next morning a new Judge dismissed the Jury and brought to an end by mistrial the most amazingly mishandled case in legal annals.

What the parade of witnesses over that long period of two years, three months and twenty-two days told the members of the three Grand Juries is still a secret.

Probably it will remain secret.

Ever since the death of Judge Eicher there have been varying stories.

"The case will be dropped completely," say some. "The case will be tried again," say others. "The defendants will be tried in smaller groups."

No one seems to know. We have tried to find out if anyone at the Department of Justice is following the activities of the defendants . . . to see what they are doing now. We tried to find out if any plans are being made for a new trial. No one seems to know . . . definitely.

Most of the workers in the Department of Justice, who were connected with the trial, are gradually disappearing into private practice. Attorney General Biddle has retired from the Department. There is now a new Attorney General. It is in no way fair to blame

him for the mistakes and lack of gumption of his predecessor. The tide had long since turned.

Even the public had become indifferent. The inside story is that the sedition case will never be reopened . . . *unless some very unexpected development occurs.*

There has been one semi-public action by the Department of Justice which has more-than-a-little relation to the sedition case.

During June, 1945, the Department issued a two-and-a-half pound 8½" x 11", 560-page mimeographed book entitled *Report of the Attorney General to the Congress of the United States on the Administration of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as Amended, for the Period from June 28, 1942 to December 31, 1944.*

Although copies of this report are not easily available I've had an opportunity to analyze it. While not recommended for light reading . . . some of the highlights are significant. They are significant because they have a bearing on the subject of *secrecy*.

Part One defines and explains the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The policy and purpose are expressed as follows:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy and purpose of this Act to protect the national defense, internal security, and foreign relations of the United States by requiring public disclosure by persons engaging in *propaganda activities* and other activities for or on behalf of foreign governments, foreign political parties, and other foreign principals so that the Government and the people of the United States may be informed

of the identity of such persons and may appraise their statements and actions in the light of their associations and activities."

Agents registered under the act must explain all agreements with principals, funds received, and must answer other questions outlined in forms provided by the Department of Justice.

Agents subject to the public registration procedure who distribute material of a "political propaganda" character, must conform to additional requirements for public disclosure.

The term "political propaganda" is defined as follows, in Section 1 (j) of the Act:

"The term 'political propaganda' includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, pictorial, or other communication or expression by any person (1) which is reasonably adapted to, or which the person disseminating the same believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, or in any other way influence a recipient or any section of the public within the United States with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country, or a foreign political party or with reference to the foreign policies of the United States or promote in the United States racial, religious, or social dissensions, or (2) which advocates, advises, instigates, or promotes any racial, social, political, or religious disorder, civil riot, or other conflict involving the use of force or violence in any other American republic or the overthrow of any government or political subdivision of any other American republic by any means involving the use of force or violence."

In defining the types of propaganda specimens submitted to the Department as required by the act . . . the Attorney General offers these significant observations:

"It is possible to draw some broad generalizations as to the content of these materials. For example, it is well-known

that foreign-inspired propaganda disseminated in the United States prior to Pearl Harbor was addressed mainly at influencing American public opinion for or against participation by this country in the war. Since early in 1942, however, only part of the total propaganda stream has been directly aimed at securing the adoption of a particular policy by the United States Government, such as the opening of a second front, increased military or economic aid to specific countries, or diplomatic recognition of certain regimes."

"Relatively more important have been specific political questions of immediate import to one or more foreign countries. In these cases, propaganda in the United States follows closely the contentions asserted by the principal disputants and is designed to obtain public support in any official action by the United States in favor of their respective claims." (Typical examples are quoted.)

"But the great bulk of propaganda in this period is that which, distributed by agents of foreign governments, has centered on building up reservoirs of good will and friendship. The contributions our Allies have made to the common war effort, their resistance to the Axis, conditions under Axis occupation, and similar war topics have formed a principal part of such propaganda, although the history and culture of a foreign country, its political, economic, and social problems, are frequently, and in some instances mainly stressed. In these cases, it is impossible to draw a practical distinction between 'political propaganda' and other types of informational activities, a consideration which supports the more comprehensive filing and reporting provisions applicable under the allied government procedure of compliance.

"Furthermore, the development of this broader approach to propaganda has been accompanied by a substantial refinement in techniques. It is of more than passing interest to note that, in a number of reported instances, books, motion pictures, and radio broadcasts of foreign governments have attained sufficient literary or dramatic excellence, and enough

entertainment or technical value, to be commercially profitable ventures in the American market."

I call this explanation *significant* because it follows the same line of appeasement reasoning which resulted in the removal of Maloney from the sedition trial and in the effort to avoid Congressional ire by changing the indictments from "conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces" to "conspiracy *with Germany* to, etc." The Department in its report misses the main point—the Viereck theory of propaganda.

Foreign propaganda of the Viereck-Fascist variety was aimed *primarily* at weakening us internally by domestic discord . . . by distrust of government, by hatred of minorities . . . by petty strife that would wreck democracy. And in spite of the Department of Justice report, most of that propaganda (before and after our entry in the war), although instigated by foreign agents, hid behind the protective skirts of American names and American named organizations.

Eighty-seven pages in the Attorney General's report are devoted to a listing of the 508 persons or organizations registered as agents of foreign principals. Asterisks indicate those who announced termination of contracts after war started. There are many asterisks. Out of the 508, sixty-four are names of American advertising agents or public relations counsellors, who did work for foreign principals . . . in too many cases, the German or Japanese Governments.

Three hundred sixty-five pages of the Attorney General's report to Congress are devoted to abstracts of

statements filed by foreign agents and of allied government exemption statements. The final thirty pages give reviews of criminal prosecutions under the Foreign Registration Act and the Notification Act.

Nineteen cases were instituted . . . charging failure to register as foreign agents. German 11; Soviet 3; Japanese 1; Rumanian 1; Spanish 1; Finnish 1; Italian 1.

Twenty-two cases were instituted under the Notification Section of the Espionage Act. German 9; Italian 3; Soviet 1; Japanese 7; French 1; Spanish 1. Most of these cases covered charges of giving aid and comfort or information to the enemy and few involved propaganda on a planned basis.

Among the nineteen cases involving failure to register were:

Friedrich Auhagen . . . the Viereck stooge, who ran the Viereck-blessed American Fellowship Forum subscribed to by so many "good Americans"

Manfred Zapp, et al . . . of Transocean News
Frank Burch . . . previously described

George Sylvester Viereck . . . previously described

Laura Ingalls . . . paid by Von Gienanth of German Embassy *to make speeches for America First Committee*

Ralph Townsend . . . the *Scribner's Commentator* Japanese agent

John Eoghan Kelly . . . the Franco agent, who

was a co-worker with such famous characters as Joe Kamp, Merwin K. Hart, Allan Zoll and other America Firsters

George and Viola Bodenschatz . . . wealthy Kentuckians, brother and sister-in-law respectively of Col. Gen. Karl Bodenschatz, Chief Adjutant to Hermann Goering

Otis Wingo, Jr. . . . the Washington, D. C. public relations counsellor who did considerable mailing work for the German-controlled Finnish Embassy

The German-American Vocational League . . . which distributed tons of propaganda and operated Camp Bergwald at Pompton Lakes

The B. Westerman Book Shop . . . New York headquarters for most of the "hate sheet" publishers in the country.

The Soviet cases concerned Bookniga Corporation (book selling) and World Tourist (periodical publicity) . . . both failing to register. The others were more or less minor cases involving individuals of little importance.

This is about the sum and substance of the Attorney General's 560-page report to Congress. If that is a demonstration of how the Department of Justice has succeeded in *controlling* or *exposing* foreign disruptive propaganda . . . then Congress had better get to work on a new and up-to-date approach. We've missed the boat, so far.

From here on I want to attempt to go behind the scenes and pry out the forbidden secrets . . . the unaccomplished objectives.

The fighting war against Germany and Japan is part of history . . . but the war against democracy will go on and on . . . with the Fascist devices of intolerance and disruption.

3

The Washington Run-Around

On September 29, 1941, in the House of Representatives, a lanky, beetle-browed, flustered member took the floor on a "question of personal privilege."

In a fiery opening he begged time to answer the "contemptible, dastardly and lying charges" made against him.

In answering these charges, he desired only to protect all of the members of Congress and the "hundred million other Americans who hold identically the same views that I entertain and insist on."

After the introductory dramatics the story unfolded. This is the way it reads in the *Congressional Record*.

The Congressman speaks:

The story goes back ten days or two weeks ago when Mr. Dennett, whom I told you I have had no contact with for a year, rang up one of my secretaries and said he had 500 copies of my speech, delivered back on April 30, entitled "No Convoys, No War." The speech was delivered almost 6 months ago. My secretary said that he would like to have those speeches; that he had many demands for them now and he

would like to send them out. My secretary then volunteered to call up the House Post Office and have them called for and sent down in the ordinary way.

As a matter of fact, I think, if my memory serves me right, Mr. Dennett offered to send them himself—my speeches—and my secretary informed him that that could not be done legally; that under the law he had no right to reframe speeches. So my secretary said he would ask the House Post-Office truck to stop and pick up those speeches, only 500, as I am told, and did so within a couple of days. The next thing he knew, about 20 bags or mail sacks were brought into my office, and he refused to take any of them. He said, "All I want are the 500 speeches of Congressman Fish, and I do not know what these speeches are; they are not from this office, and you were instructed to pick up only Mr. Fish's speeches. Just take them away. They do not belong to us and we do not want them."

Mr. Patrick. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Fish. I yield.

Mr. Patrick. Does the gentleman know now what was contained in the rest of those 20 bags?

Mr. Fish. Only what I see in the newspapers, but I will come to all that. I want to go into every detail, and I will be very glad to have anybody ask any question at any time if I do not make myself clear. So my secretary said, "I refuse to take any of these mail bags. They are not for Mr. Fish and they do not belong to Mr. Fish; take them wherever you want." The truckman asked, "Where will I take them," and further said Dennett or someone at his office told him to take them to America First. Why they were to be sent to America First I have not the faintest idea, but my secretary insisted, "I will not take any of them. I did not ask you to pick them up, and I do not want them, and do not bother me with them." So he left the office with all the sacks, and, according to the newspapers, he took 10 or 12 of the bags to the America First Committee. Whether they were addressed

there by anyone or not I do not know, and that is not my business. Evidently he left 8 or 10 of them in the corridor outside of a locked door of a storage room that I have, which I locked and has been locked and never has been opened to admit these speeches. I have not the faintest idea, and neither has any secretary of mine any idea, why they were put there. They do not belong to me. These are speeches of someone else. Newspapermen have examined and even took photographs of the mail bags, but I have no control of these mail bags and have never seen them. Nobody in my office has ever accepted them. I have no control over those mail bags any more than any other member of Congress, and therefore when somebody asked me about them, some reporter, I said, "I know nothing about those bags and they are not in my possession. The Department of Justice can have those mail bags any time they want them."

Thereafter, the explanation continued with frequent interruptions from other members of Congress, for a period which when transcribed consumed about five pages of the *Congressional Record*.

During the long harangue and in answering questions from other members, the harried Congressman continued to amplify on his word picture of how his secretaries knew nothing about anything except the 500 speeches of Mr. Fish.

Mr. Fish continued to emphasize that he had not seen Mr. Dennett for over a year; that he knew nothing about his organization. He continued to repeat that his secretary did not authorize the delivery of any of these bags to the America First Committee . . . nor did the secretary *know anything* about the 20 bags of mail.

On October 2, 1941, the mysterious matter of the

20 bags of mail again became the subject of discussion on the floor of the House of the Congress of the United States.

Again Mr. Fish repeated some of his previous explanations and answered questions directed by other members of Congress.

One paragraph from his second discussion should be placed in the record:

As a matter of fact, in all of those bags there was not a speech of mine, so far as I can find out, and my secretary was dead right in refusing to take them. Some of them were left in a hallway near my locked storeroom. My storeroom is a locked room, as I explained before, and this is just a repetition of that misstatement in this editorial that my secretary sent these mail bags to any storeroom or anywhere else. In all fairness to my secretary I want to repeat that it is a lie. He did not instruct, order, or advise this truckman to take any of these bags to my storeroom, and, furthermore, he could not have put them in my storeroom anyhow, because my storeroom is locked, and if my secretary had intended for him to put them in there he would have unlocked it and instructed him as to exactly where they were to go.

At one point, Congressman Patrick of Alabama interrupted again to ask why it had been necessary "to get such a strong carrier to convey only 500 speeches."

From the *Record*:

Mr. Fish. I am very glad that the gentleman asked that question because it is so easy to answer. The gentleman was evidently not paying attention. The reason is simply this. Mr. Dennett proposed to frank those 500 speeches back and my secretary, knowing the law, told him over the telephone, "You must not frank them back, because you would be violating the law." Therefore, as there was no hurry about it, my secretary did not pay any immediate attention to it—he had

been in the post-office service in the good days of the Republican Party, and he knows the officials and in a day or so told whoever has charge of such matters, "anytime you are down with your truck, stop in and get 500 speeches for me and bring them back to me from this address." I do not remember what the address was, but it was Mr. Dennett's office address, wherever it is. That is all there was to it. He did not ask to have a truck sent down. That is the customary procedure as they use a truck for such pick-ups and deliveries. He did not ask to have a truck sent in any specific way, or at any specific time, but he simply said, "Stop in at your convenience and get these 500 speeches." That is how it was done, because it would be violating the law if Dennett attempted to frank them back.

Around and around we go. Careful with the law!

During the discussions on both days, several irate members of Congress, impressed by Mr. Fish's explanation, suggested that the reporters and the newspapers responsible for these "contemptible and dastardly charges" should be called before the House and given proper disciplinary action.

Of course everyone knows, or should know by now, that these two exhibitions on the floor of Congress were nothing more than cheap burlesque shows. There wasn't any truth in any of the explanations. What Fish didn't know was that Congressman Patrick who asked the seemingly innocent questions . . . had seen the evidence and knew the true story.

While the explanations were being made, the Federal Grand Jury already knew the truth.

The Jury subpoenaed Hamilton Fish, and as reported before, Mr. Fish did everything possible to avoid the subpoena.

He again raised the point of "personal privilege" in the House. He was instructed by his colleagues not to obey the subpoena until the question had been "studied" by the House Judiciary Committee.

After unbelievable juggling back and forth between the Judiciary Committee and the House, a resolution was finally passed authorizing the Congressman to appear "at any time the House is not in session" . . . or when it did not interfere with his Congressional duties. Fish at this juncture found it convenient to go into the Army for a sixty-day training session.

Fish did not appear until December 5, 1941. What he told the Grand Jury is still a secret. Whether he was helpful or not in clearing up the mystery of the connection between Prescott Dennett, George Sylvester Viereck and George Hill is still a mystery . . . but shouldn't the American people be privileged to know the entire truth? Shouldn't the members of Congress be anxious to know why the explanation made on the House floor on September 29 and October 2 did not coincide with the truth as it finally became known during the Hill and Viereck trials? Why should prevarication be allowed to go unchallenged in Congress?

It was reported quite generally around Washington that the entire case of Hamilton Fish would be investigated by both the Department of Justice and the Treasury Department. Hamilton Fish at times said that he would welcome an investigation. But that investigation, like many others, has been relegated to the secret files.

A few facts are known:

Hamilton Fish started the "National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars." Following his trip to Germany in 1939 the activities of this Committee were enlarged. He claimed a membership of fifty Congressmen.

It was later revealed that Hamilton Fish received from the Romanoff Caviar Company of New York a number of checks including the following: April 11, 1939—\$100.00; September 26, 1939—\$500.00; October 17, 1939—\$1000.00; October 17, 1939—\$500.00; October 27, 1939—\$1000.00.

It also came to light that Hamilton Fish, who was then ranking minority member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, received a check for \$25,000 from General Rafael L. Trujillo, dictator of the Dominican Republic.

In explaining these checks, Fish claimed that the Romanoff payments were endorsed by him over to the "National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars" of which his other secretary, Walter Reynolds, was Treasurer.

Fish also claimed that half of the Dominican check was returned but the balance went for a mutual but unsuccessful venture in an "oil deal."

The Grand Jury and the Treasury Department must have the whole story . . . for various witnesses familiar with these cases appeared before the Grand Jury.

It is known that the Romanoff Caviar Company was operated by Hansen Sturm who was friendly with Von Gienanth of the German Embassy. Hansen Sturm made frequent trips to Washington. The Treasurer of

Romanoff Caviar, Karl Maak (now deceased) was once Von Papen's representative in the United States. Sturm complained to friends that the FBI had been watching him for a number of years and checking his accounts. He confessed at one time (likewise to "friends") that such a close watch was being kept on his accounts that he had been forced to raise money secretly and make payments privately. The Romanoff Caviar Company made payments to the America First Committee, to Flanders Hall and to various other people who could help to promote the activities of the America First Committee.

The Romanoff Caviar Company offices in New York were well known to private investigators as the headquarters for the distribution of bulk lots of Nazi propaganda . . . particularly that type which attacked the Jews, Roosevelt and the British. Various crack-pot women, the small peddlers of hate, visited the Romanoff offices and filled their suitcases with literature for hand-to-hand or mail distribution.

Why shouldn't we have the whole story of the Romanoff Caviar tie-up with Hamilton Fish and with the National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars . . . the Committee which was dropped from the third sedition indictment?

Why shouldn't we have the whole truth of the connection between Viereck and Fish? Why was Mr. Fish trying to back up his secretary, when that secretary denied any contact with Viereck?

It finally became clear that Hamilton Fish knew George Sylvester Viereck very well. He claimed that

he did not know that Viereck was a registered agent, but that seems beyond the realms of probability. Viereck was a German agent during the first World War. And Viereck was a constant agent of Germany in all the days of Hitler's march to power.

Why shouldn't the American people be told the whole story of the connection between Dennett and Viereck and Fish and Griffin of the *New York Enquirer*? Why shouldn't we know more about Fish's connection with Ralph Beaver Strassburger, the Norristown publisher, who backed Fish for President, but who spent most of his time raising money for German relief? What kind of relief?

Dennett was clearly and undeniably the liaison between George Sylvester Viereck and George Hill of Hamilton Fish's office. But the liaison could scarcely have been continued without the knowledge of Fish.* On Dennett's calendar-memo pad there were nearly daily pencil notes showing calls to Fish's office. In Dennett's files there was a complete explanation of Dennett's contact with Griffin of the *New York Enquirer*; how he arranged with and for Hamilton Fish for advertisements in the *Enquirer* promoting

*In retrospect . . . some of the past expressions of Hamilton Fish are enlightening. He fought against all preparedness and defense measures.

"If we enter into another World War we will have a dictatorship of our own within twenty-four hours, and lose our own free institutions and probably come out of the war either a Fascist or Communist state." (June-July, 1939, issue of Frederick Auhagen's *Today's Challenge*). See page 71 for item about Auhagen's conviction for failure to register as a German agent.

"The day we go to war we have lost, although we may be victorious in five or ten years at the expense of millions of lives, hundreds of billions of dollars and the ruin of our country and its free institutions." (Washington radio speech, March 30, 1941.)

Fish's candidacy for the Presidency of the United States. Dennett sent Hamilton Fish's check for the ads to Griffin. Dennett even arranged to have Mr. Fish write Mr. Griffin's editorial boosting Fish for the Presidency of the United States. Same material appeared in Strassburger's Norristown paper. During the days before the Japs attacked, Fish was constantly making speeches for the America First Committee. He appeared as a featured speaker. So did Laura Ingalls who was being paid by Von Gienanth of the German Embassy for her work in the Committee.

Hamilton Fish has never explained the reasons for the inaccuracy of his statements on the floor of the House on September 29 and October 2, 1941. Perhaps no explanation is possible because later developments put his secretary, George Hill, into jail for making the same identical statements to the Grand Jury. The explanations made by Fish to his fellow House members were fabricated from thin air. His secretary had sent the House Post Office trucks to Dennett's office *in a hurry* because he did not want the Grand Jury nor the Department of Justice to see that the 20 mail bags contained the franked mail of so many other members of Congress, who had been cooperating, knowingly or unwittingly, in the mammoth plan to give the Nazis free mailing privileges.

Those other members were: Senators: *Gerald P. Nye (North Dakota), E. C. Johnson (Colorado), *D. Worth Clark (Idaho), *Rush D. Holt (West Virginia), *Ernest Lundeen (Minnesota), Burton K.

• No longer in Congress.

Wheeler (Montana). Representatives: Clare E. Hoffman (Michigan), Dewey Short (Missouri), Harold Knutson (Minnesota), Bartel Jonkman (Michigan), *Stephen Day (Illinois), John Vorys (Ohio), Henry Dworshak (Idaho), *J. Thorkelson (Montana), *George Holden Tinkham (Massachusetts), *James C. Oliver (Maine), *William Stratton (Illinois), *Philip Bennett (Missouri), *Martin Sweeney (Ohio).

With George Hill ordering and distributing hundreds of thousands of reprints from the *Congressional Record*, inserted in envelopes under the frank of many Senators and Congressmen . . . how would it be possible, in the small confines of a Congressional office, for Hamilton Fish not to know what his secretary was doing? And particularly . . . when Hamilton Fish himself introduced George Sylvester Viereck to his secretary . . . and told that secretary to furnish Viereck with the mailing list of the National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars.

The records of the Federal Grand Juries contain more secret information about this case.

Many of the people who were accused of sedition were simply *small fry*. They were the people out on the end of the line of distribution. They were the publishers of the little, seemingly-independent hate sheets who loudly applauded the efforts of Fish and other members of Congress in keeping this country unprepared and in fostering disunity. If the small fry are indictable . . . why shouldn't the "big shots" at least be called to explain publicly?

* No longer in Congress.

There is another angle to this mystery story which has never been satisfactorily explained. Fish has claimed that he was working for the best interests of the country . . . that he was motivated by his patriotic desire to protect the United States. Perhaps he felt so in his own mind and was simply, and stupidly, influenced because of his close association with George Sylvester Viereck and other skilled German propagandists. *But Fish was constantly protecting Japan.* He frequently made speeches saying that Japan had no desire or plans to attack us. He opposed the preparations for the fortification of Guam on the grounds that it would be an insult to a friendly nation.

It has never been possible to determine where German and Japanese propaganda started, stopped or interlocked. It is known, however, that Prescott Dennett (who was supposedly doing contact work for Viereck in Washington and who was handling publicity for certain books printed by the Nazi publishing house of Flanders Hall) had also done publicity work for the Japanese Embassy. In Prescott Dennett's possession were many pictures of members of the Japanese Embassy; family groups too. On Prescott Dennett's telephone memo-calendar there were at intervals references to calls made to Japanese individuals.

Now that the shooting war is over, and solely because we want to be sure that this kind of a mess will never happen again, shouldn't there be a complete published investigation of all the ramifications of propaganda? Shouldn't the American people be told the true story behind the Grand Jury investigation; what the con-

nections were between Japanese and German propaganda; how the propagandists working for the Axis nations were able to get the cooperation of members of Congress? Couldn't a Committee of Congress subpoena the records? Why should all the investigating work be lost . . . just because the sedition trial collapsed? What is the real reason behind the mysterious dropping of William Griffin from the third indictment? This friend of Fish worked closely with Prescott Dennett. Griffin fought Maloney with every *legal, religious, and medical* device to prevent his removal from New York to Washington for trial. In fact, Griffin's long fight to avoid appearing in Court so delayed the original sedition case, that it gave the "enemy" time to organize pressure forces to blast Maloney from the picture.

Of course, the easiest thing to do is to sit back and say "Let's forget it. It's all over now; why bring up past history?" But is it really over? Isn't there a chance that we may be caught asleep at the switch again? Isn't there a chance that chaos-promoting propaganda will get worse? All signs point that way. The feeling of indifference is encouraged by the knowledge that Hamilton Fish was defeated in the last election . . . through a coalition of Independent Republicans, Democrats and Labor. He was defeated (by a startlingly small margin) by a conscientious Republican country lawyer of undeniable honesty. But Fish immediately howled that he lost the election because of a "\$400,000 War Fund raised by Moscow." He blamed his defeat on the Communists. The real

truth was that Augustus Bennet and his coalition committee had very limited funds.

Fish announced that he would write a book telling the whole story of the Communist plot to defeat him. He spent long hours in the Library of Congress. His manuscript was presented to a number of publishers who refused to accept it. But Fish has said it will appear in early 1946.

Fish has lunched recently at the Harvard Club with McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune* and Patterson of the New York *Daily News*. At Gerald L. K. Smith's Charter-Blocking meetings in Los Angeles, the rabble-rouser from Detroit announced that he had dined with Hamilton Fish in Washington and that Fish would run again and be reelected. Fish is active in his former Congressional district . . . giving dinners to prominent County leaders; loudly and blatantly undermining the work of Augustus Bennet in Washington. He predicts that he will be reelected. Recent surveys in his territory indicate that many of his constituents, who voted against him in the last election, now say "he always did a good job for the individual constituent . . . why worry about some of the mistakes he made in picking associates."

That's one of the troubles with Washington . . . especially for new Congressmen. Augustus Bennet is an honest, hard-working man. He gets down to his office early in the morning. He is one of the last to leave the Capitol at night. Instead of hiring a patronage-hack for a secretary, he spent a month or more **trying** to find a secretary who knew his way around

Washington. He finally selected Henry C. Shannon, one of the most conscientious men on the Hill; one who had previously served six Representatives and one Senator, over a period of eighteen years. The Bennet office is unpretentious, but it's a hard-working, efficient place. Constituents who write in do not get a casual answer. The Congressman and his assistants sometimes spend days of time and energy investigating an appeal made by a single constituent. Every inquiry and every question is investigated and answered thoroughly. The Congressman spends much of his time making calls around Washington to various government departments in the interest of his constituents or his territory. He is one of the most frequently seen members on the floor of the House. But while Bennet is working and trying to do a job for his district and country, Fish is back in the old home territory undermining Bennet and making people forget that there are unexplained mysteries in the records of the Federal Grand Jury in Washington.

In the last chapter of this report we will attempt to suggest the answers to some of the questions which must be in the mind of every reader. We'll attempt to indicate some of the solutions to the whole problem of why a condition such as existed in the office of Hamilton Fish could exist before this past war and might exist again, when the safety of America is threatened by outside forces.

Isn't that what we all want—complete security for the future? But Fish is not the only character in the Washington run-around.

The Grand Jurors on February 12, 1942, listened to Rush D. Holt, former Senator from West Virginia. At other times, the Grand Jury heard special examiners for the British censorship in Bermuda. They listened to George Hill after his perjury conviction and his remorseful confession.

It was determined that George Hill received from Senator Rush Holt the manuscript for a book.

The manuscript was made up, according to Hill, "mostly of clippings, with a few connected words and some pencil changes." The clippings were from Rush Holt's speeches in the *Congressional Record*.

George Hill admitted to the Grand Jury (and that admission was later read into the records at the Viereck trial) that he had given the manuscript to George Sylvester Viereck.

Sigfrid Hauck, the President of Flanders Hall testified that he had seen the manuscript for Rush Holt's book *Who's Who Among the Warmongers* in the possession of Mr. Viereck . . . in Viereck's New York apartment at 305 Riverside Drive.

Nadya Gardner, an examiner for the British Censorship of Bermuda, testified that she had intercepted an envelope addressed to Senhor Hoyningero Hueneras (alias used by the German Consul) in Lisbon. Inside the large outside envelope was a smaller forwarding envelope addressed to Dr. Hans Dieckhoff (former German Ambassador to the United States) of the German Foreign Office in Berlin, Germany. Inside the small envelope was the final corrected manuscript for Rush Holt's proposed book. A special agent of the

FBI testified that the typewriter used to address these envelopes to the German Foreign Office was the same typewriter used in the apartment of George Sylvester Viereck to write letters of instruction to Sigfrid Hauck of Flanders Hall.

It was thus clearly demonstrated that George Sylvester Viereck, as was his custom in other cases, had sent the manuscript prepared by Senator Rush Holt to the German Foreign Office in Berlin for final approval before the book was printed by Flanders Hall which had been purchased and financed by George Sylvester Viereck and which had registered with the Department of State as an agent of a foreign government.

That case with all its coincident ramifications has never been clearly explained to the American people. Shouldn't it be? A United States Senator having his book submitted to the German Foreign Office!

It's true that Rush Holt was defeated for renomination to the United States Senate.

Enough of his constituents were induced to believe part of the truth in order to remove him from the Washington picture.

But what has happened since then?

Rush Holt has become most active in West Virginia politics. So active that enough people were induced to "write in" his name on the 1944 ballot to send Holt to the State Legislature.

Since then he has attempted to undermine the efforts of the representatives from West Virginia in the United States Senate. Adopting new tactics . . . he is

being very friendly to the "little people" . . . to labor, church, educational and patriotic groups. He is being plugged constantly by certain columnists for West Virginia papers. He is making the people forget any shreds of evidence which leaked out during the 1942 campaign. The whispering campaign is "Rush has had a change of heart."

His constituents are seemingly forgetting the undeniable connection between Rush Holt, George Sylvester Viereck, Flanders Hall and the German Foreign Office. Holt may even succeed in getting back to the U. S. Senate.

Rush Holt, too, was a familiar figure on America First Committee platforms. He toured the country. He eagerly allowed his frank to be used by the propaganda mill operating out of Hamilton Fish's office. His franked speeches and his book were used by the German propaganda set-up for distribution by the America First Committee and by the "small fry" publishers of the hate sheets who were later on indicted for sedition.

The Grand Jury heard at one time a certain Dr. Francis Clair who once resided at the Cairo Hotel in Washington. Dr. Clair reputedly wrote speeches for a number of Congressmen who were most violent in their isolationism and antagonism to preparedness bills. Isn't it true that Francis Clair, the Congressional ghost writer, was seen at various hotels in Washington with Von Gienanth of the German Embassy who was the pay-off man for many of the propagandists, such

as Laura Ingalls? What's the real answer to this ghost writing business?

Should these records be locked up permanently in the Grand Jury files . . . buried for all time because of the collapse of the sedition indictments and the mishandled sedition trial? Shouldn't we find some way to make the truth known . . . to have a remedy discovered . . . so that a similar situation can never happen again?

Ex-Congressman Stephen Day never appeared before the Federal Grand Jury, but observers witnessed his visit to the Department of Justice offices . . . from which he later departed with tears in his eyes. He called to complain about the attempt to "smear" him . . . to undermine his political career. Stephen Day had brought upon himself his connection with the case.

It was this Congressman-at-large from Illinois who sent a cable to Hitler on April 6, 1933, congratulating him upon his rise to power.

It was this same Stephen Day who in the years before our entry into the war made fiery speeches in Congress attacking the British, the President and all efforts to prepare this country for possible attack.

Stephen Day, with his close connections with German agents such as George Sylvester Viereck, should have been fully cognizant of Hitler's expressed attitude toward the United States.

For example, these items should have been ringing in the Day ears.

Hitler speaking:

America is permanently on the brink of revolution. It will be a simple matter for me to produce unrest and revolts in the U. S., so that these gentry will have their hands full with their own affairs.

National Socialism alone is destined to liberate the American people from their ruling clique. I shall undertake this task simultaneously with the restoration of Germany to her leading position in America.

The German component of the American people will be the source of its political and mental resurrection. The American people is not yet a nation in the ethnographical sense; it is a conglomerate of disparate elements. But it is the raw material of a nation.

We shall soon train our youth there. And we shall have men whom degenerate Yankeedom will not be able to challenge. We shall succeed in making the new political and social order the universal basis of life in the world.

I guarantee that at the right moment a new America will exist as our strongest supporter when we are ready to take the stride into overseas space.

But Day wasn't listening. Or he liked the sound. The disruptive, distorted speeches made by Stephen Day on the floor of Congress, were of course printed in the *Congressional Record*.

Later on, George Hill in Hamilton Fish's office would order thousands of reprints of the Day speeches. These reprints were shipped in bulk, enclosed in the franked envelopes of Stephen Day, to the publishers of hate sheets throughout the country, who in turn addressed and mailed them to their own particular brand of list. Free. No postage.

The Grand Jury heard, and part of the evidence was later revealed in the trial of Viereck, that Stephen Day

made a contract with Hauck of Flanders Hall for the publication of a book entitled *We Must Save the Republic*.

Sigfrid Hauck testified that he had received the Day manuscript from one of three people (he couldn't remember which) "Day, Dennett or Viereck."

But he also testified that Prescott Dennett had given him a check for \$1000 to apply as down payment on the purchase of quantities of Day's book when published.

A Mrs. Frank Webber testified that she had worked for Prescott Dennett's Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee.

She told about an occasion when she was ushered into Mr. Viereck's den in his Riverside Drive apartment. On the wall was a picture of Adolf Hitler.

During the conversation, Mr. Viereck stated that he had organized, (*he and Mr. Dennett and Senator Lundeen and a Mr. Gale*) the "Make Europe Pay War Debts" Committee.

It was further testified by Sigfrid Hauck of Flanders Hall that when he and Viereck read the Stephen Day manuscript they both agreed that it was poorly written and that Hauck therefore would leave the manuscript with Mr. Viereck for editing and "dressing up."

The book was finally printed by Flanders Hall, and

promoted by Dennett but later on when publicity detrimental to Flanders Hall became prevalent, the cover of Day's book was quickly changed. A careful examination of the new book showed that the old flyleaf and cover had been removed and new sheets inserted, so that the final copy of the Viereck-corrected manuscript, originally printed and published by Flanders Hall, now bore the publishing imprint of the Shaw Publishing Company of Washington, D. C.

Examining these facts in retrospect, it is interesting to learn that during August of 1945, Prescott Dennett, although still a private in the United States Army, was working "on the side" for the Shaw Publishing Company of Washington, D. C.

No one seems to know why it is that a private in the United States Army and under indictment at the time, should be allowed to carry on outside business; using his "Private Dennett" identification when approaching prospects to interest them in the sale of a service released by a publishing company which was very closely tied in with George Sylvester Viereck and Flanders Hall in the pre-war days.

The unanswered questions on this case are many. Why, if George Sylvester Viereck admitted starting the "Make Europe Pay War Debts" Committee, of which Senator Lundeen was Chairman and why, if Flanders Hall, a registered foreign agent, admitted receiving \$1000 from Prescott Dennett for pre-payment on Stephen Day's book; why, if Prescott Dennett handled the publicity for Stephen Day's book . . . why

was Prescott Dennett, with thirty-three others, indicted only for conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces and not for serving as an unregistered agent of a foreign principal? Ralph Townsend was indicted and pleaded guilty for failing to register as an agent of a foreign country, because he did publicity work for the Japanese Consulate. Others have been indicted for failure to register as German agents . . . others whose contacts were far less complicated than those of Prescott Dennett, who not only handled publicity for Flanders Hall and for Stephen Day's book, but also was connected with a known Nazi agent, George Sylvester Viereck, and who was the production genius who succeeded in turning Hamilton Fish's office into a free-for-all for economical distribution of Nazi propaganda under the Congressional frank. Surely, Prescott Dennett's connection with the German government is not very well hidden. Surely, Stephen Day's connection with the German government is entirely obvious, since he allowed his manuscript to be corrected by a known Nazi agent and he allowed his book to be published by a known Nazi publishing house.

Stephen Day's book, incidentally, was very widely promoted by the publishers of the hate sheets. Gerald L. K. Smith publicized it strenuously. So did William Kullgren, veteran Nazi propagandist on the West Coast, who published *Beacon Light*. So did Elizabeth Dilling . . . the founder of the *Patriotic Research Bureau* . . . and herself the author of many rabble-rousing and intolerant books.

And Stephen Day received the top approval of the Nazi movement when the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* praised his book to the skies in July, 1941.

Here again it's easy to be indifferent. The casual observer will say that Stephen Day has received his punishment. He was defeated in the 1944 election by Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas. Mrs. Douglas is one of the applaudable additions to the Congress of the United States. She takes her job seriously. She is representing her constituents in Illinois in an admirable fashion. She is using the franking privilege . . . but in the way it should be used. Each month, Mrs. Douglas mails a candid report of her activities to all the newspapers and to leading constituents throughout the state. She tells them what she is doing and thinking and offers to be of help in individual cases. She asks for advice and counsel from her fellow American citizens . . . not from foreign agents.

While she is on the job in Washington . . . working from early morning until late at night . . . back at home the same old forces of disruption are trying to undermine her and remove her from Congress at the next election.

We say the "same old forces of disruption" are still at work. They are at work because they have a nearly clean bill of health. The public has not had a chance to get the true story of what went on within the walls of Congress while Illinois was being represented by the opponents of the present incumbent. Why shouldn't that true story be told in an official and authentic way?

Why is it necessary to have a book like this, written by a private citizen, attempting to tear away the veil of secrecy? Why the secrecy? What is to prevent all of this happening again? It will happen again unless we are both vigilant and resourceful.

The case of Clare Hoffman, the Congressman from Michigan, also involves many unanswered questions.

Hoffman was one of the stalwart co-workers with Hamilton Fish in those days before the war when the isolationist bloc tried to defeat every bill intended to prepare this country against attack. Hoffman made violent speeches defaming the President, attacking the British and ridiculing any idea that foreign nations intended to attack this country.

Hoffman's speeches were (in the natural course of the racket) reprinted from the *Congressional Record* on the order of George Hill from Hamilton Fish's office.

The bulk lots of Hoffman's speeches, inserted into his franked envelopes, were shipped to the publishers of hate sheets throughout the country. Hoffman was thereby aiding the Nazi propaganda plan by furnishing free postage and economical printing at cost from the Government Printing Office.

The records show that Hoffman and his secretary were called before the Federal Grand Jury. These appearances, coupled with the presence of other witnesses who knew the story, tell us that the Grand Jury must know the truth about Hoffman's connection with the propaganda campaign.

Even after the Japanese had attacked Pearl Harbor, Clare Hoffman cooperated with the German propaganda campaign.

He made a speech on January 27, 1942, entitled "Don't Haul Down the Stars and Stripes." He fixed blame for the war on Roosevelt and Churchill. He ordered 145,000 reprints from the Government Printing Office with 95,000 franked envelopes. Hill had been removed from the picture by that time . . . but the same old procedure was followed. Bulk lots were shipped to most of the people who were later on indicted, charged with sedition.

In one case at least (that of Charlie Hudson of Omaha, Nebraska) extra inserts were placed illegally in Hoffman's franked envelopes.

Those inserts, in card form, were so vicious, indecent and seditious that they could not be quoted fully in the newspapers.

The instigators and producers of this gutter-literature knew that it was seditious because they included a footnote stating that it was not intended to be seen by members of the armed forces of the United States.

It described in an alliterative fashion the dangers of West Africa.

It proclaimed in part: "V is for Victory. These Vain Visionaries Would Send Our Valiant Vanguard to Africa's Vilely Vicious Clime, Victimized by Verminous Voracious insects, Venomous snakes, Vitiating tropical diseases, Voo-doodooed and Hoo-doodooed by the horrors of war in the hottest hell on earth."

It was testified that Prescott Dennett brought the original idea for this card to George Hill in Hamilton Fish's office. Later on it was determined, after Charlie Hudson of Omaha went to jail temporarily for refusing to answer questions, that Hudson arranged for the printing of the card and that the plate was furnished by George Hill.

At any rate, it was clearly proved that the seditious card, intended to undermine the morale of the armed forces plus the citizens at home who had men in the armed forces, was inserted illegally in the free franked envelopes of Clare Hoffman and mailed throughout the country, without the payment of postage.

Many others distributed the "Stars and Stripes" speech of Clare Hoffman. One was Herman Kissenger, a Kansas City lawyer who was a frequent contributor to the Bund newspaper. Another was Gerald Winrod of Wichita, Kansas. Another . . . Mrs. David Stanley, a leader of "United Mothers of America."

Joining in the campaign was John Geis, a reputed "Christian Fronter" of Hempstead, Long Island. On the copies Geis mailed, he stamped the words "The American Way." Mrs. Beatrice Knowles of the "American Mothers" of Detroit, Michigan, and Mrs. William B. Shelton of the "League of Constitutional Liberty" of Brooklyn, New York, likewise were distributors of Hoffman's inspired propaganda.

George Hill admitted that not all the "V" cards were used with Hoffman speeches. He shipped many in bulk, and addressed the rest to certain lists in Fish's office one Sunday afternoon.

It was learned that the British censors again intercepted mail from George Sylvester Viereck to the German Foreign Office. In one intercepted piece, Viereck enclosed one of the Africa post cards and commented that it was effective and "highly amusing." One thing is sure, if Prescott Dennett gave the copy for this post card to George Hill in Hamilton Fish's office, then it is 99½% certain that George Sylvester Viereck was the instigator, because most of the material delivered to Hill by Dennett was so delivered on the instructions of the master Nazi propagandist George Sylvester Viereck . . . who has never been modest in proclaiming his prowess in pornographic creation.

In spite of Clare Hoffman's connection with this obnoxious case . . . in spite of his obstruction of the war effort . . . he was returned to the United States Congress by his constituents in the 1944 election. Since then he has continued his rambunctious tactics. Watch him from the gallery any day you happen to be in Washington . . . or read about his tirades in the *Congressional Record*. The chances are that he will continue to be returned to the Congress . . . because the true story of his connection with the sedition case and with the Nazi propaganda campaign has never been fully told to the people of Michigan. Clare Hoffman was one of the leading characters behind the successful drive to have William Power Maloney removed from the sedition trial.

He made violent speeches on the House floor against both the trial and the skilled prosecutor.

His speech of December 8, 1942, was quoted widely by the publishers of the hate sheets. *Western Voice*, published by Harvey H. Springer at Englewood, Colorado, devoted an entire issue to it.

From what we now know of some of the things that the Jury must have known about Clare Hoffman, it is easy to understand why Clare Hoffman did not want the original sedition indictments presented in open court. It is obvious that he did not want the true story of his connection with the case spread upon the records so that his constituents in Michigan could read it from official and authentic sources. Michigan newspapers might print the story too.

It is hardly necessary in this report to give detailed reviews of the connection of some other members of the House of Representatives with the propaganda campaign.

Many of them were defeated in either the 1942 or 1944 elections. George Holden Tinkham of Massachusetts, James C. Oliver of Maine, William Stratton of Illinois, and Martin Sweeney of Ohio all took the road to oblivion . . . partly because their constituents found out about the way their representatives allowed their franks to be used in the propaganda mill set up by Viereck, Prescott Dennett and George Hill in Hamilton Fish's office.

Dewey Short of Missouri, Harold Knutson of Minnesota, Bartel Jonkman of Michigan, and Henry Dworshak of Idaho still remain . . . some have tried

to mend their ways . . . but the limelight for disruption has been stolen away from them by other valiant actors such as John Rankin in the House and "the man" Bilbo in the Senate.

Analyzing the Senate, we won't take much space to write about Senator Reynolds and his connection with the pre-war propaganda mill. His violent attacks on preparedness were widely circulated under his frank by reprints from the *Congressional Record*. During part of the time that Reynolds was Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, he was not only making violent speeches and sending them out under his frank but he was publishing his own private newspapers . . . first, the isolationist, disruptive *American Vindicator*, later, the equally disreputable *National Record*. Reynolds didn't run for reelection in the 1944 election. He saw the handwriting on the wall. Since his retirement from the Senate, he has become openly identified with the alarming Nationalist movement which we'll describe in Chapter Nine.

Gerald P. Nye was relieved of his Senate seat in the 1944 election. Part of the story known by the Federal Grand Jury became known to the voters in North Dakota . . . and Nye was defeated.

But the full story of Nye's connection with the propaganda campaign should be told to the public so that a similar situation will not exist in the future.

Nye was the most violent leader of the obstructionists

in the pre-war days. His speeches against preparedness and against Britain were reprinted by most of the publishers of the hate sheets. As previously reported, Nye's office was the mecca for those who had been charged with sedition by the Grand Jury. Likewise the lawyers for the alleged seditionists used Nye's office as a meeting place. There were hatched the plots to get rid of William Power Maloney and to disrupt the sedition trial.

Here we have a situation where the office of a Senator of the United States was being used to obstruct justice. It would seem to the average citizen that a United States Senator should use his office to uphold the laws of the land and to see that justice is done. If charges are made and if conscientious Grand Jurors are convinced that there is sufficient evidence to warrant the charges . . . then surely a United States Senator should endeavor to let the Department of Justice be unshackled and should allow an orderly procedure of justice to take its course. If the accused are innocent, they can win acquittal in court. If they are guilty, then justice has been done. But Nye, on the contrary, did everything within his power to block the attempts of the Department of Justice to bring the accused to trial.

Senator Wheeler still remains in the Senate. In the pre-war days, he, too, participated in the propaganda campaign to keep this country unprepared. His frank was used liberally for massive mailings to lists supplied by the America First Committee, the National Com-

mittee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars and by all the groups and individuals who were fighting to keep this country unprepared and who were following, if not knowingly, at least willingly, the carefully prepared, subtle plan of George Sylvester Viereck.

In a debate with Senator Barkley on the floor of the Senate, Wheeler admitted *selling* one million of his franked post cards to the America First Committee. That means furnishing free postage and printing at less than commercial cost. Wheeler constantly defended the America First Committee and appeared upon its speaking platforms in many cities throughout the United States.

Even after Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor, Wheeler made attacks against the sedition trial. He said that it was a mockery of justice. He attacked William Power Maloney. He appealed to the Attorney General to remove Maloney from the case.

During January 1943, Wheeler made tirades against the Department of Justice. He charged that the rules of secrecy were being violated by the Department and by newspaper reporters.

These speeches of Wheeler's were reprinted out of the *Congressional Record* by Harvey Springer's *Western Voice* and by other publishers of hate sheets.

Concerning the sedition trial, here is what Wheeler said in the Senate on January 28, 1943:

As I have said, I do not know any of these defendants. If they are guilty, I hope they will be convicted. I do not agree with one single thing they are charged in the indictment

with having said. But whether I agree with them or whether I do not, they are entitled to have a fair trial, by a fair judge, before a fair jury, and by a decent and respectable prosecuting attorney in whom the people of the United States have some confidence, and in whom the Congress of the United States has some confidence.

Didn't Senator Wheeler know some of the defendants? And who said the people didn't have confidence in Maloney?

Didn't Senator Wheeler allow his franked material to be used by the Steuben Society and by the America First Committee (mentioned in the indictment as an organization through which propaganda was channeled)? Didn't Senator Wheeler know that Franz Ferenz was a prominent member of the German American Bund as well as the America First Committee on the West Coast and that he arranged receptions for Senator Wheeler when he made a speaking trip to the West Coast?

Senator Wheeler should have known (because it was widely publicized) that the Steuben Society was *fin*ed by the Post Office Department for the illegal distribution of Senator Wheeler's franked speeches. It is rather easy to see and understand why Senator Wheeler did not want the sedition trial to come into open court. He did not want his full connection with the case brought to light. In spite of Senator Wheeler's understandable desires, the full and complete story of the connection of all members of Congress with the propaganda case should be told to the public.

It is perhaps repetitious to report that Senator

Wheeler has kept in character throughout the war. Newspapers reported on his trip to Europe after the conclusion of hostilities. During that trip he aroused the scorn of members of the armed forces when he addressed them "off the record" to attack the allies of the United States.

Wheeler has consistently and callously ignored the threats which had been made against the United States by Adolf Hitler in *Mein Kampf* and elsewhere, and he also has disregarded the undeniable fact that the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor after years of planning for just such treachery. He has cleverly sidestepped the fact that if the advice of Senator Wheeler, Senator Nye and other like-minded Congressmen had been followed, the disaster at Pearl Harbor might not have been overcome.

The darkest unexplained mystery in the Washington runaround is the case of the late Senator Lundeen. No analysis of propaganda in the United States can be complete without mentioning his name.

On the afternoon of August 31, 1940, one of the secretaries of Senator Lundeen went into his office to tell him that it was time to start for the airport. She found the Senator with his head buried in his arms on his desk. When the secretary questioned in alarm, his face was streaming with tears as he said "I can't talk about it. I've gone too far to turn back."

He asked his secretary to drive him to the airport. He rode with her in silence.

She watched the plane take off. Before she could start back to the city the alarm came through that the plane had crashed over in Virginia. She sped there in her car and saw the Senator's body removed. A policeman said to her "there was a fight on the plane."

But that is as far as the story has ever gone. No such information was revealed after the investigating committees met.

Why should a policeman say to the secretary of the Senator that there was a fight on the plane? How did he know it if the plane crashed with no report from the pilot and all on board dead?

No matter what were the circumstances of the mysterious death of Senator Lundeen . . . the fact remains that the Grand Jury has in its records the complete story of Senator Lundeen's strange connection with the Nazi propaganda campaign to disrupt America and keep us unprepared for attack.

George Sylvester Viereck used Senator Lundeen's office for his headquarters in the Capitol. There can be little doubt that Senator Lundeen knew of the reputation and of the activities of Viereck, a registered agent of the German government.

Viereck wrote Senator Lundeen's speeches.

A Lundeen secretary overheard Viereck telling the Senator that he was trying to make the speeches sound like the way Lundeen talked.

It was revealed in the testimony that George Sylvester Viereck carried on his transactions by telephone with George Hill of Hamilton Fish's office from the office of Senator Lundeen.

He ordered through Hill 125,000 copies of a speech made on the Senate floor by Lundeen but written by Viereck.

In answer to questions, George Hill, after he had repented of his perjury, testified that Senator Lundeen himself had paid for the reprints in cash.

Senator Lundeen was the Chairman of the Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee which had been organized by the Nazi agent, Viereck, with the aid of Prescott Dennett. Mrs. J. Frank Webber who worked for Prescott Dennett, you should remember, testified that one of her duties as part of the Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee was to compile mailing lists of Who's Who in business, in industry, in commerce, in law, in the clergy, and to use these lists together with the German American Board of Trade mailing list to address franked speeches by members of Congress. She confessed that at one time there were eight people employed on this project alone . . . addressing franked speeches and putting these speeches in the mail for free delivery by the United States Post Office. That work was done in the office of Prescott Dennett who got the franked speeches from George Hill in the office of Hamilton Fish.

Let me refer again to the section (pages 67-73) in which we analyzed the report of the Attorney General to the Congress on the operation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. A number of relatively insignificant cases were prosecuted. Why, in view of the obvious evidence, was there no action taken on the

connection between Prescott Dennett, George Sylvester Viereck, Senator Lundeen, George Hill and members of Congress who deliberately *sold* the special privilege of the frank to a well planned foreign propaganda campaign?

There is still another unsolved mystery which must have an answer in the records of the Federal Grand Jury—a mystery which has been carefully hush-hushed.

Members of Congress mentioned in this report were strong in their defense of the America First Committee. Prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, no effort was made by any government agency to stop or expose the work of the America First Committee, with the exception of the first two Grand Jury investigations. Efforts to interest the Dies Committee or the FBI met with resistance.

The private investigators of propaganda knew the story of the early beginning of the America First Committee. It was built in the United States on identically the same pattern as similar organizations in France, Belgium, England, Canada, Australia, etc. In the case of the Australian organization of like name, the originators and operators were placed in jail by the government.

The idea behind the America First Committee was originated by German propagandists, even though the actual organizers were Americans. It could be proved, if any one cares, that a large part of the funds for supporting the America First movement came from German sources or from Americans who were favor-

able to the Nazi cause. Cartel collaborators, too. The money transactions were cleverly covered up. At the monster rallies staged in all important cities in the country, large sums of cash were carefully distributed in smaller amounts to individuals who placed the bills in the collection baskets when excitement was at high pitch. The money rolled in by ton lots.

Some of the people who were backing the activities of George Sylvester Viereck, such as Hansen Sturm of Romanoff Caviar Company, supported the America First Committee. It was also supported by prominent members of the German-American Board of Trade, whose Director, Dr. Degener, was uncovered as a top-ranking stooge of Hitler and who was deported (that's all) following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

It is an established fact that most of the members of Congress who participated in the franked mail propaganda set-up from Hamilton Fish's office also talked for the America First Committee. Nye, Wheeler, Holt, Reynolds, Hoffman . . . were constantly on the road. It's no secret in Washington that Senator Nye gleefully bragged in the Senate cloakroom about all the dates he had for speaking engagements (reputedly fifty during one certain month shortly before Pearl Harbor). Nye bragged that the minimum fee was \$300, but that he usually got \$500. Wheeler received at times \$500 for each speech at America First rallies and on some occasions \$800 plus expenses.

The mystery still remains . . . who arranged for these appearances of Congressmen at the America First

Committee mass meetings? Who actually paid their fees?

It's well known that a standardized solicitation campaign was conducted among women's clubs and other civic groups. Speakers were suggested and of course the emphasis was placed on such stars as Hamilton Fish and Senators Nye and Wheeler. In instances where the prospect could not pay the usual fee of the star performer, the club was charged a minimum amount and some other "source" paid the difference between the actual fee collected and the final payment to the member of Congress. It is known that "several rich women" in the city of Chicago participated in supporting a fund which took care of this difference in the Midwest. These particular rich women were openly in favor of the Fascist or Nazi cause.

Out in the West, Franz Ferenz, who was later on indicted for sedition, but who had been convicted of failure to register under California's Subversive Organization Act . . . was prominently identified in the collection of funds for Congressional speakers at the America First rallies on the West Coast.

We believe that the people of the United States have a right to know the full story behind the America First Committee. Who financed it? Who paid the Congressmen? Why did Congressmen accept pay for such a dubious cause?

The America First Committee was very carefully camouflaged with important names. Some of the top hat executives were what might generously be called

"innocent victims". They believed in peace as most of us do. They believed that the best interests of the country were served in campaigning to keep this country out of war . . . ignoring the fact that there were obvious threats made against the security of the country.

It was a perfect propaganda set-up in the typical Viereck style . . . propaganda hiding behind the protective skirt of American names.

Was it pure *coincidence* that the America First Committee with its generous support from the pro-Nazi forces was able to woo the support of Congressmen who were on important committees,—at times the Chairmen? Ham Fish was ranking minority member of the powerful Foreign Relations Committee; Robert Reynolds, Chairman of the Senate Military Affairs Committee; David Walsh, intimate of Father Coughlin's representative Father Curran, and frequent speaker at America First rallies was and is Chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee. Could it be that there was a deliberate and well-organized crusade to woo the support and sympathy of these high-placed men?

The whole story should be told so that a remedy can be found for the future . . . if a similar situation ever exists again.

But the remedy must get around this bugaboo of secrecy. It must be found without violating the Constitution or the Bill of Rights.

So far we have painted a picture of the Congressional tie-up with the undermining propaganda cam-

paign. It's not a pretty picture . . . even though it is now past history.

But the picture is necessary if we want to get a complete understanding of what this country faces in the future . . . and what steps are necessary to prevent the growth of disruption and prejudice.

Other Congressmen beside those already mentioned were involved to a greater or lesser degree in some stages of the propaganda campaign. So far, I've limited myself to those who actually participated in the pre-war, so-called franking racket.

But this chapter would not be complete unless we mentioned the Honorable William Langer of North Dakota who came into the Senate at a rather late date in the propaganda runaround. The circumstances of his entry into the Senate are likewise shrouded in secrecy.

The members of the Senate who met in "executive sessions" to hear the arguments on the qualifications of Mr. Langer to have his seat in the Senate learned an amazing story of the career of this unique character.

Some of those who sat in those secret meetings are still wondering how it was possible for Senator Langer to have been approved.

But the records of those meetings are buried in secrecy. The transcript is carefully locked in a safe somewhere in the Capitol building. None of us ordinary citizens will ever get a glimpse of it. Why should the records be a secret . . . if some of the men who listened to the testimony are still amazed that a

man with such a record can occupy a seat in the highest Legislative body in the world?

It didn't take Senator Langer long to get into the swing. He became an obstructionist deluxe.

On March 2, 1943, the Senators present were startled to hear that George Sylvester Viereck should be recompensed by the government for the time he had spent in jail. The Supreme Court had just reversed Viereck's conviction on a technicality (but Viereck was convicted at a later trial). Langer wanted to reimburse the Nazi agent "to wipe out the wrong that has been done."

One of Langer's most brilliant exhibitions occurred on the floor of the Senate on September 8, 1944, when he delivered a two hour speech in defense of those who were on trial, charged with sedition . . . at that very moment . . . in Federal Court.

That speech by Langer had many peculiar twists. Those who heard it realized that he could not, by himself, have created the copy. He made a too detailed defense of each of the thirty people on trial for sedition. How could this United States Senator know all the details in his own mind and from his own knowledge? An impossibility! Strangely enough, in this detailed defense of each person on trial for sedition (and his defense even included sympathy for George Sylvester Viereck) the time occupied in describing the patriotic activities of Elizabeth Dilling was much more lengthy than that given to other defendants. In fact, the defense of Lizzy Dilling was somewhat of an autobiography. Spectators felt that though the voice came from Senator

Langer, the words were from the mouth of Elizabeth Dilling herself who had written similar items about herself and all of the defendants.

Of course Senator Langer's speech was immediately reprinted in the *Congressional Record*. And it wasn't many days until thousands of reprints had been ordered from the Government Printing Office. The defendants on trial for sedition received in some manner bulk shipments of the speech.

We have already reported that during the afternoon of the last day of the trial, many of the defendants were sitting in the courtroom addressing the franked envelopes of Senator Langer.

Since that afternoon, our investigators have uncovered bulk shipments of the Langer speech tucked into franked envelopes sent to various individuals throughout the country who might be induced to address the individual envelopes and send them to their friends. In one case . . . a dummy name in Kansas City placed on the mailing list of defendant Kullgren of Atascadero, California, received several packages each containing fifty copies. In order to save postage, defendant Kullgren used a franked envelope of William Langer for the wrapper and addressing label.

The Langer defense of people on trial in Federal Court was very close to contempt of court. It was a flagrant trespassing on the judicial branch of the government by a member of the legislative branch. No one in the Senate questioned Senator Langer's lack of good taste in making the speech and in selling franked

reprints to the defendants on trial. Elizabeth Dilling, in her hysterical bulletin, even gave the price which she had to pay to Senator Langer to obtain reprints of his speech. She solicited contributions to buy more.

Why doesn't someone in the United States Senate demand that this practice be stopped? Why shouldn't the American people have the true story of Senator Langer's connection with this case and how or why or with what he was induced to make the defense and furnish the defendants with a seemingly official white-wash of their activities?

The Honorable E. H. Moore of Oklahoma has also, at times, flagrantly misused his franking privilege and put it to work for the forces of disruption. He has allowed his name to be used by the Committee for Constitutional Government which is operated by Edward Rumely, a man who was convicted in the first World War of dealing with the German government, but later pardoned by President Coolidge.

Senator Moore is very helpful to the Committee for Constitutional Government. He allows them to use his franking privilege frequently.

During July and August of 1945 (the climax of the war effort), the Committee for Constitutional Government mailed a penny post card addressed to the office secretary asking her to watch for Senator E. H. Moore's great speech "The OPA Is Wrong In Principle" and place it together with the post card for prompt attention of her employer.

Shortly thereafter, the speech of Senator Moore arrived addressed by the same easily identifiable and coded addressograph plate. The envelope was mailed under Senator Moore's frank free of charge. No postage. The speech followed the disruptive line which had been, during the war, fostered and encouraged by the Nazi agents in the United States . . . to break up the OPA, to break up price control and cause inflation, to create chaos in the United States.

The post card from the Committee for Constitutional Government had the audacity, in spite of all the publicity about the misuse of the frank, to offer additional copies of Senator Moore's speech at attractive prices. It offered to mail additional copies if the cooperator would supply the mailing list. *It promised to mail 12,500 copies of Senator Moore's speech for \$100.00.* That means definitely that the Committee for Constitutional Government is advertising its free use of the franking privilege. It's easy to estimate. To mail 12,500 copies at normal third class bulk rate would cost \$125.00 for postage alone. That is the cheapest postal rate for circular letters. Therefore, it is evident from the price quoted that the Rumely-managed Committee for Constitutional Government is buying from Senator Moore at the ridiculously low Government Printing Office price to Congressmen the reprints which they in turn are selling to those who want to help the Committee in its drive to wreck control of inflation. And selling free postage!

This latest case of the tie-up between Senator Moore and the Committee for Constitutional Government

is the most flagrant and arrogant abuse of the franking privilege which has been reported since the disreputable example of Clare Hoffman with his "Judas" mailing of early 1942.

It proves that the need for propaganda reform did not die with the start of the war. Nor did it die or become obsolete with the end of the war.

I have given here the factual story of these Congressmen . . . not for the purpose of carrying tales or of naming names just for sensationalism . . . but because I honestly believe that the American people are entitled to the truth. I know that herculean efforts have been made to keep us from knowing the truth.

I know for sure that the combined energies of some of the Senators and Representatives mentioned in this chapter were responsible for the removal of William Power Maloney from the sedition trial. Those energies were responsible in a large part for the farce made of the final attempt to try those accused of sedition. The efforts of these Congressmen who participated in the propaganda campaign are responsible for the secrecy which involves the whole disreputable affair.

If the indifference of the American public is not too firmly established . . . then some day the real truth in all its details will be known.

Temporarily, our story will now leave Capitol Hill . . . reaching out into the highways and byways, the crossroads and the cities . . . to search for the secrets surrounding other characters in the mystery of propaganda.

4

What Happened to Father

In the file room of the Department of Justice are some seventy mail bags jammed full of letters to former Attorney General Biddle. Each of the letters is about the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, tire-fixer, soul-fixer, and “expert” on economic and political problems—the radio priest from Royal Oak, Michigan.

The Father once had quite an establishment at the corner of Twelve Mile Road and Woodward Avenue. There is his Shrine of the Little Flower where he told his congregation that the road to Heaven is the totalitarian way—a la Franco with just a dash of Hitler. In the basement of the Shrine, typewriters rattled the same message—minus some of the clerical trimmings. Across the street the Father ran a garage where gasoline was sold and tires were changed. After all, with a following numbering in millions, Coughlin could expect thousands to make pilgrimages to Royal Oak.

Things are quieter now, although there is a feverish bustle beneath the silence. The seventy mail bags resting in the Department of Justice file room have a lot to do with the silence, and a lot to do with the

activity underlying it. Those letters contain contradictory demands. Some asked for the prosecution of Coughlin—for sedition, for using the United States mails to defraud, for attempting to avoid taxation by mixing his profit and non-profit corporations. Others demanded that the Department of Justice cease “persecuting” Father Coughlin—the “prophet Isaiah of the present century.”

Despite the demands, the Department never prosecuted Coughlin. Yet Coughlin knew the heat was on. The silence descended because Coughlin feared action, not because action was taken. On the other hand, because the war is over and because their “messiah” was never prosecuted, the Coughlinites are coming out in the open again. In spots like New York and Boston they are flourishing like weeds after the spring rains. Even the Father seems to be poking his head out of the Shrine tentatively, for he is allowing petitions to be circulated demanding his return to the radio.

What actually happened to Coughlin—why he was “persecuted” but never “prosecuted”—none of us lay people and private investigators really know. The real story lies buried in the files of the Washington Grand Jury, and probably some of it was never revealed there. For some reason it’s all a deep dark secret. The Grand Jurors, of course, aren’t allowed to talk, and others in the know just aren’t opening their mouths.

But there are quite a few things that we do know. We know, for example, that starting in April and continuing all through the month of May, 1942, witness

after witness filed into the Grand Jury room. Each of these witnesses in some way was connected with the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin. There was E. Perrin Schwartz, one-time president of the Social Justice Publishing Company and editor of *Social Justice*. There was a string of clerks from Coughlin's offices—Cora Quinlan, May Schulte, Marie Rhodes, Eugenia Burke, Bernice Marks, Alberta Ward. Some of these "clerks" were officials from time to time in the various Coughlin enterprises. Marie Rhodes was secretary of the Social Justice Poor Society. Eugenia Burke was once president of the Social Justice Poor Society and one of the directors of the League of the Little Flower. Alberta Ward, who audited the books of the Social Justice Publishing Company for \$20 a week, was once a trustee for one of the Coughlin enterprises. There were Frank Traznik, research worker for *Social Justice*; Donald A. Campbell, employee of *S. J.*'s printer; Bernard J. O'Connor, rewrite man for *Social Justice*; Edward A. Kinsky, once president of the Radio League of the Little Flower, officer in the Social Justice Publishing Company, and connected in 1936 with Coughlin's Union party. Philip Johnson,* German "foreign correspondent" for *Social Justice* and disciple of the intellectual Fascist Lawrence Dennis, paraded before the Grand Jury too. So did Francis P. Moran, leader of Coughlin's Christian Front in Boston; Bernard T. D'Arcy,

* Johnson says that he had dissociated himself from the pro-Fascist movement and that he was to have been a witness for the Government in the sedition trial. This change of heart was brought about, Johnson claims, when he realized how fortunate he was to be an American citizen criticizing democracy, rather than a German citizen criticizing Nazism.

Social Justice distributor in New York; and Frank P. Keelon, another distributor for *Social Justice*. This was the longest array of witnesses, testifying about a single man heading a single movement, to appear before the Grand Jury. Yet no action was taken against Coughlin. Why?

On the surface this is what happened: Back in the 1930's Coughlin broadcast to millions of listeners all over the United States. In 1939, officials of WMCA, the radio station over which Coughlin broadcast, became increasingly concerned over the text of the Father's broadcasts. By that time Coughlin had inspired his storm-trooping Christian Front which was howling for "Jewish blood" from city street corners. Coughlin himself was inciting to violence by threatening to fight "the Franco way." WMCA officials asked that Coughlin submit his scripts in advance. Coughlin refused, whereupon the officials ruled that the Royal Oak priest could no longer broadcast over that station. The Christian Fronters were highly incensed over this "muzzling" of their leader; so they threw a picket line around WMCA. The line held out for months. Day after day the pickets milled around the station carrying their large signs and yelling for Coughlin to be returned to the air. Then suddenly there was a line no longer. It just evaporated. Allan Zoll, Coughlinite and leader of the American Patriots, was arrested and indicted for extortion. Zoll, the indictment charged, had tried to extort money from WMCA officials in return for calling off the pickets. But Zoll was never prosecuted. What actually happened, why

the pickets ceased to show up, is another secret. And that one is buried in the files of a New York Grand Jury.

Even after Coughlin ceased his radio broadcasting the Coughlinite enterprises went full steam ahead. There were howls about Coughlin's "persecution" and about his being "thrown off the air." *Social Justice* continued to come out, and its vendors hawked their wares from city street corners all over the United States. During all this *Social Justice* enjoyed second class mailing privileges—the lowest possible postage rate. It was about the time of Pearl Harbor that Post Office officials became very concerned about the contents of Coughlin's newspaper. Wondering whether action could be taken against the Royal Oak priest at least to prevent his enjoying the advantages of second class mail, they asked Attorney General Biddle for an opinion. Biddle replied that *Social Justice* was "obviously seditious;" so the Post Office Department got busy. The Department asked Coughlin to appear in Washington and "show cause" why his paper should not be denied second class privileges. At the last minute Coughlin did not show up; he merely announced that he voluntarily was suspending publication of *Social Justice*. All of this happened in the spring of 1942—at about the time the long line of Coughlinite witnesses were parading before the Washington Grand Jury.

A lot of erroneous notions about the demise of *Social Justice* have been floating around during the last three years. The Coughlinites especially, in harping on the

“persecution” of Coughlin, say that the paper was “banned from the mail” and that the Father, in “violation of freedom of the press” was forcibly silenced. This is not true. Even if Coughlin had appeared to “show cause,” and even if he had been denied second class mailing privileges, the paper could have continued to come out. It could have been mailed under third class or even first class; the citation against Coughlin is a normal procedure on the part of the Post Office, when the mailability of a publication is questioned. Coughlin voluntarily suspended publication rather than appear publicly at a Post Office hearing.

At least all of this is what appeared on the surface—this is what I, or any other interested investigator, could observe. What went on behind the scenes is something else again. Did the Grand Jury learn enough about Coughlin to indict him? If Coughlin were an “innocent” why was so much time devoted to him in the Grand Jury room? If enough were learned about him to warrant an indictment, why was no action taken? Why wouldn’t Coughlin appear before the Post Office hearing? He had nothing to lose except his second class mailing privilege—or did he? Did he fear the revelations of a public hearing? Why would Biddle tell the Post Office Department that Coughlin’s paper was “obviously seditious” and then do nothing about Coughlin? Rumors had it that the Treasury Department had thoroughly investigated Coughlin’s financial deals and at one time was nearly ready to prosecute. Is this true? The Treasury De-

partment said neither yea or nay; its officials kept mum about the whole thing. Was there a "deal" made between the Post Office and Treasury Departments on the one hand and Coughlin on the other? Did the Royal Oak priest agree to shut up in return for a "no prosecution" pledge from the United States government? These are some questions which badly need to be answered. This is a whole area in which the "mystery" needs to be cleared up. It was important in 1942 because we were at war. It is important now because the Coughlinites are threatening to come back stronger than ever. How can we protect ourselves against these new onslaughts unless we know all of the facts of the case? How can we defend ourselves when our principal weapon, knowledge, is locked in the files of a Washington Grand Jury and shrouded in official secrecy?

Looking back at these months of April and May in 1942 . . . it is possible to give some on the spot observations which may help to clear up the mystery.

I had an opportunity to watch the witnesses going into the Grand Jury room; I saw the Grand Jurors coming out of long sessions . . . some looking obviously disgusted. Reporters learn many things by closely watching the faces of jurors. I had an opportunity to observe, frequently, the rush and bustle in the Department of Justice trial section. *Every sign* pointed to an impending indictment of Father Coughlin. You can tell these things by the kind and quantity of papers being typed, the witnesses being called in for private consultation and by the shifts of people assigned to

specific jobs. It was openly discussed among reporters and other close observers that the Department had selected a young but experienced prosecutor (not Maloney) to handle the Father Coughlin case. He was a Catholic . . . so that no charge of religious persecution could be made. Suddenly, the wheels stopped turning. I mean *suddenly*. I saw an enthusiastic, energetic young prosecutor become glum and silent overnight. I saw one of the hardest workers on the case . . . in a condition close to tears. But no one would talk. The orders came through from higher up . . . the case was to be dropped. One thing is certain . . . the actual workers didn't drop it. They had the evidence. Whether the Grand Jury actually voted the indictment or not . . . is a secret. Coughlin withdrew his seditious *Social Justice* from the mails. He promised his superiors (so it is reported) not to talk over the radio. That was the price he paid to avoid having his fanatical followers "aroused" by the Father's trial. But, weren't we, the people, cheated on the Government's end of the bargain? Father Coughlin by his acts of intolerance and incitements to riot, had no right to the protection of the Church.

In reviewing the activities of the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, it is first necessary to get his various corporations, enterprises, etc., etc., straight. He was and is priest at the Shrine of the Little Flower, Royal Oak. He, and various of his employees, juggled the League of the Little Flower, the Radio League of the Little Flower, the Social Justice Publishing Company and

its periodical *Social Justice*, the National Union for Social Justice, the Union Party, and the Social Justice Poor Society. Although he signed no official documents and held no official office in it, Coughlin also inspired and identified himself with the storm-trooping Christian Fronters who hawked *Social Justice* and praised Hitler on city street corners. And just for local color, or because it was good business, the Shrine Super-Service sold gasoline and fixed flats across the street from Coughlin's church; hot dog stands flourished on the trade brought by Shrine visitors; and souvenirs, including crucifixes, the Bible, picture postcards of Coughlin, and anti-Semitic literature, were sold inside the Shrine itself.

In the beginning, with Coughlin, there was the League of the Little Flower, which was incorporated in January, 1928, to raise money to maintain the Shrine of the Little Flower and to help build a new church.

The incorporators were Coughlin, Frank L. Wood, and Eugenia Burke, the Coughlin clerk who appeared before the Washington Grand Jury in 1942. Wood soon was eased out of the corporation, and Amy Collins, another clerk, was brought in. The League was dissolved in 1930 by the three "directors," Coughlin, Burke, and Collins. By the time of the dissolution about \$31,000 had been collected by the non-profit League of the Little Flower. Michigan laws are a little funny that way, but no one seems to care what happens to money collected for "charitable," "non-profit" enterprises, so no one is sure just what happened to that money. But in 1929 Coughlin did a bit of

dabbling in the stock market. He bought 500 shares of Kelsey Hays Wheel for \$60 a share—totaling \$30,000.

In 1930, as successor to the League of the Little Flower, the Radio League of the Little Flower was incorporated. This was another “non-political,” “non-profit” outfit, and its incorporators and trustees were Coughlin and his two clerks, Eugenia Burke and Amy Collins. The aim of the Radio League was to raise money—(1) for Coughlin’s broadcasts, (2) for dissemination of “religious” material, (3) for the Shrine of the Little Flower parish, and (4) for “charity.”

After that things really began to get complicated. In December, 1934, Coughlin, with two of his clerks, Marie and Dorothy Rhodes, incorporated and became directors of the National Union for Social Justice. Like his two Leagues, the new corporation was non-profit, but unlike the Leagues, it was organized for political purposes. Out of the National Union for Social Justice grew the Union Party which polled a million votes in 1936 when it ran William Lemke for President of the United States. Coughlin, Lemke, and Gerald L. K. Smith were the big three of the Union Party.

Before the 1936 elections, however, Coughlin set up another corporation, the Social Justice Publishing Company. This was a profit-making venture, and since Michigan laws say that all profit-making concerns must have a capitalization of \$1000, Coughlin issued to himself ten shares of stock at \$100 a share. Then he called a meeting and elected a board of directors—himself, Eugenia Burke, and Amy Collins. The Social Justice Publishing Company came into being in Febru-

ary, 1936, and its publication, *Social Justice*, was very helpful to Lemke and the Union Party during the campaign months. Then all sorts of very peculiar business began to happen in relation to the Radio League of the Little Flower, the National Union for Social Justice, and the Social Justice Publishing Company. Amy Collins, as treasurer of the Social Justice Publishing Company, asked tax exemption for the Publishing Company, a profit-making concern, on the ground that it was owned by the Radio League of the Little Flower, a non-profit corporation. Apparently, Coughlin had transferred the ten shares of stock in the Publishing Company to the Radio League. Then there was something funny about the financing of the National Union for Social Justice, the political organization. Coughlin took \$2000 of his church money—funds from the Sainte Therese Parish—and loaned it to the N.U.S.J. He put more than \$99,000 of the funds belonging to the “non-political” Radio League of the Little Flower into the political N.U.S.J., and \$10,000 from *Social Justice* found its way into the Union coffers too. Now church money, which is tax exempt, has no business financing political organizations, which are not tax exempt. And the Radio League of the Little Flower had no business soliciting funds for “non-political” purposes and then turning great sums of money over to an openly political organization.

All of this was very peculiar, and trying to find out precisely what was going on in the Coughlin enterprises was like the game, “Button, Button, Who’s Got

the Button." Every time the "button" seemed to be cornered, it turned out to be some place else.

Just who owned *Social Justice*? Amy Collins said the Social Justice Publishing Company was owned by the "non-profit, non-political" Radio League of the Little Flower—therefore it should be tax-exempt. Then Coughlin ran into some difficulty with Archbishop Mooney, who demanded that the priest print the truth in *Social Justice*. Coughlin replied that the paper was not a Catholic publication, that it was a business venture, and that what was printed therein was none of the Archbishop's affair. About this time the Royal Oak priest resigned as president of the Social Justice Publishing Company. Walter Baertschi, a Coughlinite worker from Maumee, Ohio, became president; Edward Kinsky of Brooklyn became vice-president; and Catherine Wilson, a \$24-a-week clerk in Coughlin's office, became secretary-treasurer. In addressing a protest meeting against Archbishop Mooney in November, 1937, Baertschi said that he was sole owner of *Social Justice*. But in December, 1937, the Social Justice Poor Society was incorporated. Its incorporators were Eugenia Burke, Marie Rhodes, and Amy Pigeon (an alias for Amy Collins). The purpose of this "non-profit" corporation was stated: "To relieve sick and destitute persons and to perform such other charitable acts as may come before the society." At the end of 1938, the "sick and destitute" had not received one penny or one hour of aid from the Social Justice Poor Society, but the Poor Society had acquired the only ten shares of stock ever issued

by the Social Justice Publishing Company. In other words, this new "charitable" organization was simply a "non-profit" holding company for the profit-making *Social Justice*. When *Social Justice* suspended publication in 1942, it was alleged to be owned by Charles E. Coughlin's father and mother, Thomas J. and Amelia Coughlin.

While these questionable transactions were taking place, money rolled in. The Radio League took in \$44,000 in 1930; the income of the Coughlin enterprises fell off to a little over \$6,000 in 1934; money, to the tune of \$80,000, poured in in 1935 when Coughlin began attacking Roosevelt and the New Deal; the Coughlin enterprises, at the end of 1936, had \$200,000 clear; at the end of 1937 Coughlin had \$190,000 clear of liabilities; and by the end of 1938 the take amounted to almost half a million dollars. The point is that this money was solicited for "religious" and "charitable" purposes, although much of it was spent for neither religion nor charity. What happened to it is not readily ascertainable. Most of the officers and incorporators of the various enterprises were not big-time operators. They were clerks whose salaries were \$35, \$33, \$24, and \$20 weekly. What happened to the money?

Coughlin allegedly had a tendency toward cash transactions. Stories around Washington and Detroit have it that the Father would disappear at monthly intervals for a day or two at a time. The first day of his return he would have stacks of cash on his desk, and this cash would be used to pay the bills.

With a set-up like this, almost any financial investigation of Coughlin would bog down in befuddlement, unless the Father could be persuaded to cooperate, and chances are Coughlin wouldn't cooperate. Ruth Mugglebee, Coughlin's biographer, quotes the Royal Oak priest as saying: "... if I threw away and denounced my faith, I would surround myself with the most adroit hijackers, learn every trick of the highest banking and stock manipulations, avail myself of the laws under which to hide my own crimes, create a smokescreen to throw into the eyes of men, and—believe me, I would become the world's champion crook." There is no way of knowing whether in private Coughlin has abandoned his faith, but he certainly did adopt the Wall Street trick of setting up a labyrinth of corporations to cover his financial transactions, and there is no better "smokescreen to throw into the eyes of men" than protestations of "religion" and "charity."

* * * *

Now that we've straightened out—as well as they will straighten—the various corporate enterprises of Father Charles E. Coughlin, I want to survey briefly the "religion" and "charity" for which he stood.

First of all, Coughlin has betrayed his own faith. His rebuffs to Archbishop Mooney are well known. The late Cardinal Mundelein felt called upon to denounce Coughlin, saying that he did not "represent the doctrine or sentiments" of the Roman Catholic Church. Furthermore, Coughlin openly cooperated with Pope-baiters and Catholic-haters; the anti-Catholics accepted him despite his clerical robes because his pro-Fascist

ideology was so akin to their own. Edward James Smythe, the alleged seditionist who was out to destroy "Romanism," wrote Coughlin a letter of endorsement, and Coughlin printed it in *Social Justice*. Smythe, and his anti-Catholic Protestant War Veterans, joined the picket line around Radio Station WMCA to protest against Coughlin's being banned from the station. *Social Justice* carried a picture of the picket line, in which the sign of the Protestant War Veterans was prominently displayed. When Coughlin suggested a "march of peace" on Washington, Smythe quickly volunteered to serve as Coughlin's recruiting agent. Then Coughlin cooperated with the anti-Catholic *National American* too. This newspaper, the organ of the American National Socialist Party, used the swastika as its emblem. It berated the Catholics and remarked: "The College of Cardinals must make sure that the next Pope is a Gentile." Yet Coughlin reprinted the masthead of this paper in *Social Justice* and remarked: "We sort of liked the frankness of the *National American* . . ." Colonel Eugene Nelson Sanctuary, who planned a 40,000-word book against the Catholics, said: "I have letters from Father Coughlin thanking me for information sent him from time to time . . . he too is fighting the machine as Cardinal Mundelein is opposed to Coughlin . . ."

No wonder Smythe, Sanctuary, and the *National American*, anti-Catholic though they were, liked Father Coughlin. Sections of Coughlin's radio speeches were lifted from *World Service*, the Nazi propaganda sheet edited in Erfurt, Germany. *Social Justice* carried one

column, signed by Coughlin himself, which was largely a cut and paste job, the original text of which was a speech by Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels. *Social Justice* carried in serial form the forged *Protocols of Zion*, which purport to "prove" that the Jews are conspiring to rule the world. The *Protocols* for years have been in the kit of every Nazi propagandist. And Coughlin openly denounced the principles of democracy. Democracy, he said, is a "mockery," a "cloak," under which "an inorganic tumor" has been built. Nor could he get over repeating that "the Rome-Berlin axis is the great political rampart against the spread of Communism. As such, the Rome-Berlin axis is serving Christianity in a peculiarly important manner." *Social Justice* would also remark editorially that "Chancellor Hitler's own words are a better indication of Germany's attitude towards the rest of the world than many columns of prejudiced editorial comment and 'interpretations'." All of this won Coughlin the extensive admiration of the German American Bund, William Dudley Pelley's Silver Shirts, George Deatherage, and others who openly advocated Fascism for America.

It was the Christian Front which earned for Coughlin his principal notoriety during the late 1930's and early 1940's. Coughlin, via *Social Justice*, asked his followers to form "platoons" of twenty-five members. As each of the twenty-five became indoctrinated with the principles of "social justice," he was to branch out and form a new platoon of twenty-five. The platoons were to multiply in this fashion until they covered the

entire country. And they nearly did. Street corner after street corner in New York, Boston, Los Angeles, Detroit were taken over by Christian Fronters who reviled the Jews and Roosevelt, who defended Hitler and looked upon Coughlin as the new "messiah." Coughlin would address a rally in St. Paul, Minnesota, via a public address system, "directly from the studios in Royal Oak." In New York, Edward Lodge Curran would hold masses in commemoration of Coughlin's being ordained to the priesthood. Birthday balls would be held in Coughlin's honor—decorations would center around a spot-lighted picture of the Royal Oak priest.

The arrest and trial of seventeen Christian Fronters in New York on charges of plotting to overthrow the Government gave the name, Christian Front, a black eye. The arrests took place early in 1940. At first Coughlin shied away from identifying himself with the Fronters, but the evidence so overwhelmingly proved him a part of the movement that eventually he said: "Beside them (Christian Front prisoners) I take my stand—be they guilty or be they innocent!" The Fronters eventually were released, but one of the seventeen, William Gerald Bishop, was interned on Ellis Island as a dangerous enemy alien. After that the Christian Fronters adopted other names, such as Friends of Father Coughlin and American Citizens Committee. The movement went merrily along, but by and large the name, Christian Front, became a label to be avoided.

During the question period following my talks before business clubs and civic groups, the query most frequently put was "What's happened to Father Coughlin?" These questioners find it hard to believe that the Coughlinites are still active—that after all these years they still prove influential.

The fact is that Coughlin is rebuilding his following. From a Post Office box in Detroit it is possible to get petitions in quantity lots calling for the return of Father Coughlin to the air. Gerald L. K. Smith, who distributes the petition too, in his *Nationalist News Service* reports that demands are pouring in from all over the nation demanding that Coughlin speak over the radio regularly. Coughlin's lieutenants in the East are trying to rebuild the defunct National Union for Social Justice. This time they want to call it the League of the Little Flower; dues are \$1 per member—checks payable to Father Coughlin. Meanwhile in his Shrine at Royal Oak, Coughlin built his League of San Sebastian, an organization of servicemen. The names, 160,000 of them, were sent in by relatives who wanted Coughlin to pray for the men. Donations, accompanying the request for prayer, averaged \$3 each. In Brooklyn recently the packed auditorium at St. Joseph's school resounded with applause and cheers when the lights were dimmed and a spotlight was thrown on Father Coughlin's picture. In Boston 500 people crowded into Brown Hall to celebrate a birthday banquet given in honor of the Father. At a convention last year of Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party, Joseph

Stoffel, "money reform" leader from Buffalo, jumped to his feet and shouted: "Our money problem wouldn't be in its present state if money hadn't gotten away from God. Only one man told us that, and he is . . . Father Coughlin."

Edward Lodge Curran, Brooklyn priest who was an active Coughlinite during Christian Front days, still loudly praises Father Coughlin and calls for his return to political life. The *Gaelic American*, Coughlinite paper in New York, continues to follow the Coughlin line and from time to time defends and praises the Royal Oak priest. The San Francisco *Leader* continues to be the mouthpiece of the West Coast Coughlinites. In Meriden, Connecticut, F. H. Sattler still carries the notice in his newsletter, the *Malist*: "THIS SPACE WAS RESERVED TO ADVERTISE SOCIAL JUSTICE BEFORE IT WAS BIDDLED AND BECAME A VICTIM OF UN-AMERICANISM."

But the Coughlinite who is really hitting the jackpot—in following and in "big contacts"—is the Reverend Arthur W. Terminiello of Anniston, Alabama. Terminiello began gathering attention to himself back in 1943 when his newspaper, *Rural Justice*, kept saying: "In your prayers do not forget Father Coughlin . . ." Later, in a radio speech the Anniston priest praised Coughlin and referred to him as "radio's golden voice—and SILENT voice." It was late in 1944 when Terminiello delivered his broadcast, "The Cross of War—Is It Due to Stupidity or Cupidity?" In it, the priest said: "There

are some things worse than defeat . . . More important than victory is to stop that slaughter as soon as possible." Terminiello also hinted strongly that Roosevelt and his advisors were responsible for the Pearl Harbor disaster and should be hanged for "MURDER." The little Fascists from Michigan to Oregon began singing Terminiello's praises. The allegedly seditious *X-ray* reprinted Terminiello's address. So did the United Mothers of America, a Detroit organization. Mary Leach, secretary to the allegedly seditious Elizabeth Dilling, distributed it at a meeting of Constitutional Americans. The Citizens U.S.A. Committee spread it around Chicago. From Portland, Oregon, the anti-Semitic H. L. Beach mailed out copies.

Terminiello suddenly found himself with a following. Like Coughlin, he appealed to Catholics and non-Catholics alike. His common denominator is not Catholicism, but detestation of Roosevelt, the New Deal, the Jews, our former Allies.

The Anniston priest, out to make a big-time splash, drew up a petition asking Congress (1) to make public the findings of the Naval Board of Inquiry about Pearl Harbor, and (2) to punish those responsible. Of course Terminiello expected the Navy findings to be slanted against Roosevelt and his advisors. Terminiello is a great one for pleading for sympathetic understanding of our foreign enemies but howling for the blood of our domestic "enemies"—like Roosevelt and the New Dealers. Of course the signatures to these petitions were gathered by the small-time pro-Fascists. We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, the group which

contended that the war was "useless slaughter" fought for "a worse than futile cause," gathered signatures in San Francisco while they were fighting the United Nations Security Parley. The *Malist*, which still prints the forged *Protocols of Zion*, distributed the petitions. Soon 15,000 names had been signed to Terminiello's brain child, and the priest went calling on Congress.

It is incredible that a person like Terminiello could gain a hearing in the halls of Congress, but he did. On July 12, 1945, Senator William Langer of North Dakota inserted his petition in the *Congressional Record*. (Remember the story of Senator Langer in Chapter Three?) Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts one month later used the Terminiello petition as a basis for demanding that Pearl Harbor "guilt" be publicized.

Terminiello thus, like Coughlin, is uniting the small-fry, openly cooperates with the violent pro-Fascist elements, but still is able to command respectful attention in the United States Senate.*

Coughlin and his followers are far from finished. They will be back stronger than ever now that the war is over—unless we do something about it. And one of the most important jobs is that of laying all of the facts before the public. The Christian Front, in name at least, was pretty well dispersed by the adverse publicity given it during New York's Christian Front

* As this book was going to press, an AP dispatch announced (November 27, 1945) that Father Terminiello was deprived of his pulpit by his superior, the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Toolan, bishop of Mobile, for "sending out literature which we feel is detrimental to the Church and the unity of our country."

trials. The same thing can be done to the rest of the movement. It can be licked by discrediting it in the eyes of the public. But a thorough job of discrediting cannot be done as long as the real story of Coughlin is locked in the files of the Grand Jury, as long as "secrecy" keeps official mouths shut while Terminiello and Coughlinites like him spout their venom freely and are welcomed by some United States Senators.

Although Coughlin is the most powerful single figure among the clerical pro-Fascists, many smaller leaders have spread similar doctrines in the name of "religion." There is a strong Fundamentalist movement which explains away its isolationism, anti-Semitism, and pro-Hitlerism in theological terms. And then there are the Anglo-Israelites who do the same thing.

The Fundamentalists are Protestants who are eager to get back to "Biblical Fundamentals." They cut across sectarian lines to include Methodists, Baptists, and so on. By and large the Fundamentalists stand in opposition to the "modernists" who, instead of interpreting the Bible literally, emphasize the doctrines of the Golden Rule and the brotherhood of man. The "modernists" too cut across sectarian lines, so that we have the Baptist "modernists" as opposed to the Baptist Fundamentalists, the Methodist "modernists" as opposed to the Methodist Fundamentalists, and so on.

I do not mean to imply that all Fundamentalists are a part of the pro-Fascist movement. They certainly are not. Some Fundamentalists, like the Reverend Keith Brooks, have been vigorous and persistent in their

fight against American Hitlerism, but others, like Gerald Winrod, W. D. Herrstrom, Harvey Springer, and a string of their co-workers do not have an equally enviable record.

Winrod, the only Fundamentalist minister to be indicted for alleged sedition, fought against the teaching of evolution back in the 1920's. Later, when the Ku Klux Klan rode the plains of Kansas, he was strongly anti-Catholic. When Hitler rose to power, Winrod discovered anti-Semitism, and subscriptions to his magazine, the *Defender*, skyrocketed to 50,000. Winrod still took cracks at the exponents of evolution and from time to time referred to the Catholic Church as the "harlot woman of Christianity," but his emphasis was upon anti-Semitism and what a good job Hitler was doing in Germany.

Ideological partners of Winrod were (and are) Harvey Springer, a Fundamentalist minister in Englewood, Colorado; W. D. Herrstrom of Minneapolis; W. O. Love of Detroit; and a long string of ministers who attend endless "Bible Conferences" and "Bible Schools" sponsored by Winrod or Springer or Herrstrom or Love.

This whole movement has remained virtually untouched by Washington officialdom. Only witnesses testifying about Winrod appeared before the Washington Grand Jury; none of the rest were touched at all. Winrod, the Grand Jury must have learned, took a trip to Hitler Germany and printed Nazi propaganda in his magazine. What about the rest of the Fundamentalists? Were their connections lily-white? It

scarcely seems possible, for they are bosom pals of Winrod and have cooperated merrily with a string of the alleged seditionists. Why was this movement never investigated? Why was the story of these people never aired? Why was virtually no effort made to air it? At least the case of Coughlin got to the Grand Jury stage, whereas the bulk of the Fundamentalists propagandized straight through the war—with scarcely any let-up to their activities. Of course Coughlin was stronger than any of the Fundamentalists, but the combined strength of the Fundamentalist leaders may exceed even that of Coughlin. Winrod and Springer have been welcomed happily by ex-Senator Robert Rice Reynolds as co-workers in a common cause. How many other Congressmen have been tied up with this pro-Fascist “religious” movement? That is still a secret, which even the Washington Grand Jurors don’t know.

Then there is the case of the Anglo-Israelites, who believe that the Anglo-Saxons, rather than the Jews, are the real Israel and God’s Chosen People. Not all Anglo-Israelites, of course, are tied up with the pro-Fascist movement, but a goodly section of them are. And the Anglo-Israelites have gotten off even more easily than the pro-Fascist Fundamentalists—not a single one of their disciples was hauled before the Washington Grand Jury.

Dean of the pro-Fascist Anglo-Israelites is Howard B. Rand of Haverhill, Massachusetts. Back in the late 1920’s Rand founded the Anglo-Saxon Federation. It was about this time that Henry Ford found it expedient to announce publicly that he had made a mistake,

that the *Protocols of Zion*, which he had quoted at length, were forged. Privately, Ford held on to his old connections. He allowed his right-hand man, William J. Cameron, to join Rand's Anglo-Israel movement. Rand, in fact, moved out to Dearborn, Michigan, so that he could be close to Cameron and Ford while he denounced the Jews as "bastard" Israelites and intimated strongly that there was much of good in Hitlerism. Eventually Rand moved back to Haverhill, and Cameron now is supposed to have only a "spiritual" interest in the group.

Rand, however, had sowed his little seeds. S. A. Ackley of Chicago organized a branch of the Anglo-Saxon Federation. This branch later became the Kingdom Gospel Institute and currently is active in spreading the Anglo-Israel "line"—including anti-Semitism and distrust of our former Allies—in the Chicago area.

C. O. Stadslev, Minneapolis pal of the pro-Fascist Fundamentalists, began editing *Truth and Liberty*, an Anglo-Israel magazine of the pro-Fascist variety. On the West Coast, Joe Jeffers ran an Anglo-Israel Kingdom Temple, until his unorthodox sex activities split his congregation and automobile theft landed him in jail. J. A. Lovell, a Fundamentalist Texan turned Anglo-Israelite, took up where Jeffers left off in Los Angeles. There he runs the United Israel Fellowship, and sponsors annual conventions of Anglo-Israelites. The last convention, held in June, 1945, and attended by Anglo-Israel leaders from all over the United States, had anti-Semitism as its key note. The Jews were

called "liars" and "murderers;" speakers predicted that during the next twelve months there would be "the worse purge of Jews America has ever seen." About 1500 people poured into the Friday Morning Club, the Philharmonic and Embassy Auditoriums to attend convention meetings. They cheered lustily when Gerald L. K. Smith was mentioned; they thundered applause after each virulent anti-Semitic attack. For some reason there was little anti-Catholicism at this convention, but in his magazine, *Kingdom Digest*, Lovell berates the Catholics as long and loudly as he berates the Jews. The Catholics, he says, are the "Christ Killers." According to *Kingdom Digest*, the word "Vatican" literally means "Prophet-Slayer."

Anglo-Israelites like Rand, Ackley, and Lovell operated unmolested right on through the war. Why were they never touched by any official investigation? How do they finance their activities? Rand's magazine, *Destiny*, is an expensive, slick-paper job. So is Lovell's *Kingdom Digest*. Ackley's Kingdom Gospel Institute has taken over a whole building in Chicago. The Anglo-Israelites are working with the Fundamentalists, Gerald L. K. Smith, and—despite their anti-Catholicism—the Coughlinites. Why was nothing done about this whole section of people who spread disruptionist propaganda in war time and are carrying it over into peace time? That is a secret which even the Washington Grand Jurors don't know.

5

Manna From Heaven

It was on a hot summer night that Douglas M. Stewart, one-third owner of the P. & S. Publishing Company and co-publisher of *Scribner's Commentator*, sat alone in the study of his home at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. Stewart had troubles. He would gaze out the open window at Lake Geneva's sultry night, and then back at his desk. He was wondering where, oh where, could he get some money. *Scribner's Commentator** was making a flourishing crusade against the "war mongers;" with a spot more cash Stewart could set up a newspaper too—the *Herald*, he would call it. But where was the money coming from?

Suddenly a package was hurled through the window. Nonplussed, Stewart rushed to examine it. Quickly he opened it. Inside he discovered, to his amazement and joy, \$15,000 in cash.

At least that's the story Stewart tells. He has some more good ones too—such as the one about someone handing him several thousand dollars in a New York crowd, and the one about \$15,000 in cash being left

* *Scribner's Commentator* is occasionally referred to below simply as "Scribners."

mysteriously on a table in his home. Heaven was right in there pitching for Stewart and his holy crusade.

Indications later were that it might be a special section of Heaven roped off for the Axis which furnished this manna in spot cash. But these clues come at the end of the story. Let's start at the beginning.

Back in the fall of 1940, Stewart and Charles S. Payson ran the P. & S. Publishing Company from their offices at 564 Madison Avenue, New York City. Payson, whose wife is the wealthy Joan Whitney, sister of John Hay Whitney, owned two-thirds of the stock in the company. Payson, in fact, was the local angel. He put \$100,000 into the enterprise. The printing was done by the Condé Nast Press in Greenwich, Connecticut. And the publishers were right in there seeing that no money was wasted on postage. *Scribner's Commentator* went out as second class matter—the lowest possible postage rate.

Even in those days the magazine couldn't be described as strictly high tone. But it seemed to subscribe to the "American way of life." It played up Joe Martin and his part in the Willkie campaign. It ran articles by Senators Burton K. Wheeler and Rush Holt saying, in effect, "This is not our war." But occasionally a slightly suspicious piece would slip in—such as the one by Ralph Townsend called "Japan—Our Commercial Prize." "We do more business with Japan than with all the other countries of Asia combined," the magazine said. "The New Deal's Japanese policy threatens not only to wipe out this profitable trade, but to embroil us in an utterly senseless war."

During the following winter and the spring of 1941, *Scribner's Commentator* branched out. The publishers got hold of Henry Ford, the financial angel to whom, for the last twenty-five years, the anti-Semites and pro-Fascists have gone running. Ford was sold a bill of goods right after the last war. One who always believed in "mysterious conspiracies," the Dearborn magnate listened with willing ears while he was told about a "Jewish conspiracy" to make wars, subjugate mankind, et cetera. All this, he was told, is revealed in the *Protocols of Zion*. Of course the *Protocols* originally was written as a French novel; it was called *Dialogues in Hell*. Someone translated the novel into Russian, and someone, apparently with pogroms in mind, substituted the word Jews for the word Devils, and there you were. But Ford fell for the forgery, and used it as a basis for a series of articles in his newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*.

Ford didn't exactly turn over his empire to the "cause" after that. In fact, he later publicly acknowledged the *Protocols* to be forgeries and apologized for his anti-Semitic policies. But, (1) he was the only American mentioned favorably in *Mein Kampf*; (2) Hitler presented him with a medal; (3) struggling Nazis in this country went to the Ford plant for jobs; (4) pro-Fascists born in America—such as Gerald L. K. Smith—looked to Ford for financial support.

Anyhow, Payson and Stewart hooked up with Henry Ford. The front cover of *Scribner's Commentator* for December, 1940, carried a picture of Ford and the

lead article, "An American Foreign Policy," was written by him. Ford, in this article, was back at his old tricks of looking for "mysterious conspirators." The people of Europe were duped into war, he said, "by the greedy financial groups, seeking to extend their domination over people and lustful for power in every branch of human endeavor." Just who these "greedy financial groups" were, Ford did not explain. He just said that the "groups" have Hitler and Mussolini as their "puppets." Then he went off on a tangent saying that these mysterious "groups" are the "creators of all labor organizations" and seek to depress wages. Now, according to Ford's logic, Hitler and Mussolini, who outlawed labor unions, were the "puppets" of union leaders; and union leaders, who thrive on increased wages of union members, were seeking to depress wages. It's all very confusing. So were the *Protocols of Zion*.

Besides Ford, other big shots were cropping up in *Scribner's Commentator*. This was about the time that the America First Committee was getting under way, and its leaders flocked to Payson and Stewart, or vice-versa. General Robert E. Wood, head of America First, wrote in *Scribner's Commentator*: "Our trade with Japan incidentally runs between five and six times the trade of China, whom we are making such a great effort to help. Even if Japan gets control of the Dutch East Indies—and that is not assured—she is going to be more anxious to sell us rubber and tin to obtain dollar exchange than we are to buy the products."

Charles Lindbergh's radio speech, "A Plea for American Independence," appeared in the magazine, and readers were urged to send in twenty-five cents for a "booklet containing the full text of Colonel Lindbergh's five preceding radio addresses." After that Lindbergh's speeches were printed by *Scribner's Commentator* regularly.

During this time the magazine was following the Nazi line regarding the fall of France. The Count de Chambrun, son-in-law of Pierre Laval, came in for a build up. Pictures of Leon Blum, Georges Mandel and others appeared as those who "wrecked France." The French "New Dealers," not the Nazis, were responsible for the French humiliation, *Scribner's Commentator* argued.

Prominent Americans must have subscribed to this thesis, too, for articles kept appearing by Senator Rush Holt and Colonel Robert McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*. An article, "Wheelhorse of Defense," lauded Senator Burton K. Wheeler. Senator Gerald P. Nye and John T. Flynn, prominent in the America First Committee, came in for publicity.

Meanwhile, the magazine wanted Britain's blockade of Germany broken. It saw no reason for extending lend-lease to the Allies, but somehow it felt terribly sorry for the hungry people of the German occupied countries. Those nice Nazis, the magazine implied, wouldn't dream of taking our food from the people of France, Belgium, etc., if we could just get the food to the starving people. And Albert J. Nock wrote in

Scribner's Commentator: "Jews are now the most powerful and highly organized minority in the United States." This squib appeared in the April, 1941, issue—the one that ran an article praising Henry Ford.

The high point in this period for *Scribner's Commentator* was an article, "A Japanese Speaks," by Yakichiro Suma, the official spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Office. "It was on more than several occasions that the Japanese Government declared that Japan had, and has, absolutely no designs toward conquering China or any other nation or people in East Asia," Suma wrote. "On the contrary, Japan has proposed to achieve a neighborly solidarity among the nations and the peoples of East Asia . . ."

It was along about May, 1941, that Payson and Stewart packed their bags and left 564 Madison Avenue, New York for Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. The entire staff and their families, in fact, moved out and the magazine took a five year lease on a whole building. A little reorganizing got under way too. Payson, Stewart and B. D. Holt had run the magazine earlier. A new name, George T. Eggleston, appeared as "Secretary" of the publishing enterprise; also a George Cless who had written for the magazine before. His important contribution was an article called, "The William Allen White Reign of Terror." This was back in December, 1940, when William Allen White's Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies was becoming popular.

A mild boom took place in Lake Geneva. The *Scribner's Commentator* staff were free spenders and local business flourished. Some merchants credited the new crowd with 15 to 25 percent of their gross business. And the new arrivals set out to "convert" the local people . . .

By this time, no doubt, the magazine editors had a lot of "converting" to do. While most of America was distrusting Petain, *Scribner's Commentator* was calling him "one of the great characters in the world today." "Marshal Petain's motto, 'Spare men don't spend them'," it said, "has a meaning of vital importance for all Americans today." While Americans were praising Churchill for his determined stand against the Nazis, the magazine was running an article by Senator Rush Holt condemning the British Prime Minister. While the country was reviewing the blatantly pro-Nazi record of Senator Robert Rice Reynolds, George Cless was praising the Senator for being "objective in mind." To stir up a bit more interest, the magazine announced a \$1500 prize essay contest—essays to be written on "George Washington's Foreign Policy Today." Suggested reading for prospective contestants included works by the Japan-admiring Ralph Townsend and Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. Ann Lindbergh's *The Wave of the Future*, which says Fascism is inevitable, was also especially recommended.

By this time things were moving thick and fast at Lake Geneva. The \$15,000 had flown through the window; another \$15,000 had been left on a table in

Stewart's home. Charles G. Lind, former P. & S. office manager, became the President of Lake Geneva Publications Incorporated and the first copy of the *Herald*, the newspaper arm of *Scribner's Commentator*, hit the streets on August 5, 1941.

The first two issues of the *Herald* camouflaged its *Scribner's Commenator* origin. *Scribner's* was published by the P. & S. Publishing Company; the *Herald* was published by Lake Geneva Publications. Lind's name was not prominently displayed on *Scribner's* masthead and the better known *Scribner's* people—Payson, Stewart and Eggleston—were conspicuously absent from the masthead of the *Herald*.

But any misunderstandings about the *Herald's* origin were cleared up quickly. The paper's issue of August 26 carried this note:

"Publisher: DOUGLAS M. STEWART. Editor: GEORGE T. EGGLESTON. Managing Editors: Edward T. Majeski, K. F. Chalkey."

Also listed were twelve "Assistants," including Frederick Kister, Bessie C. Feagin and Ralph Townsend.*

The *Herald* got to the heart of things quickly. There was none of this shilly-shallying about being "respectable." Hitler's invasion of Russia immediately was dubbed a "Holy Crusade." "Europe Masses to Fight Russian Communists," front page headlines read.

* The complete list of Assistants included: Sadie Batchelder, Mary C. Collins, Bessie C. Feagin, Robert Fredricks, Jessie J. Host, Frederick Kister, Philip Nesbitt, Angela A. Smith, Freeman Tilden, Ralph Townsend, Sally Vickers, Barbara Youell.

"Seventeen Nations Join the German Reich in Holy Crusade Against U.S.S.R." On the front page of each issue was a regular column called "Fifth Column Notes." This was filled with news of the doings of the British Duke of Kent, Lord Halifax and other British notables. After all, according to the *Herald*, the British, not the Nazis, were the menace. Japan, according to the *Herald*, was a poor little innocent being victimized by the plotting "internationalists." "U. S.-Japan Trade Stoppage Act Fulfills War Seekers' Dream," its headlines screamed. "Morgen-thau's Freezing of Japan's Assets and Naval Threats Bring America Nearer Break Plotted by Internationalists."

The crusade to "convert" the Lake Geneva residents was stepped up. Issues of the *Herald* were mailed to the local people, and early in September a chapter of the America First Committee was opened in the small Wisconsin town. However, according to Patrolman Hopson of the local police force, the townspeople didn't exactly take to the movement as a duck takes to water. "They started sending us the *Herald*," he said, "and when we saw what it was we sent it back. It kept coming and we kept sending it back."

Unabashed, the *Herald* went from bad to worse. It recommended the pro-Japanese Ralph Townsend's book, *Seeking Foreign Trouble*; and *Man, the Unknown*, the blatantly pro-Nazi book by Alexis Carrel. The front page proclaimed that the Catholics enjoyed great religious freedom under Mussolini and that "not

a single church has been closed for reasons of anti-religion policies on the part of the Hitler government." It went further in its praise of Hitlerism by saying that churches in Nazi Germany were as "free as anywhere in the world."

It carried a large advertisement for the Shaw Publishing Company, advertising Congressman Stephen Day's book, *We Must Save the Republic*. This book (as shown in Chapter Three) was first published by Flanders Hall, the Nazi-controlled publishing house. After the exposé of Flanders Hall's connections, the cover and flyleaf were torn off remaining copies of Day's book, and a new cover and flyleaf, bearing the Shaw Publishing Company imprint, were substituted. Out-and-out pro-Nazis, like "Poison-cup Charlie" Hudson, were quoted in the *Herald*. Notorious pro-Fascist "mothers" groups, like We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, got plugs in its pages. *Publicity*, the sheet which was full of references to the "Mongolian Jew-controlled Roosevelt dynasty," was plugged too. It carried advertisements for the Citizens Keep America Out of War Committee, a Chicago outfit which had as one of its speakers the acknowledged Fascist, Lawrence Dennis. It reported approvingly that the Crusading Mothers of Pennsylvania were demanding the impeachment of President Roosevelt.

Meanwhile, the isolationist Congressmen were played up in the *Herald's* columns. Space was devoted to Paul Shafer, George Tinkham, Martin Sweeney,

Hamilton Fish. Four-column, triple-decker headlines hurrahed for Senator Wheeler. A front page notice announced an America First rally to be addressed by Wheeler in St. Charles, Illinois.

But Charles Augustus Lindbergh was the *Herald's* real hero. Front page headlines on September 19 proclaimed: "LINDBERGH SAYS PRO-WAR ELEMENTS ARE BRITONS, JEWS AND ROOSEVELT." The *Herald* liked the anti-Semitic angle; now Lindbergh had something there. So the entire text of the speech was reprinted in the September 26 issue and again on October 3. The *Herald* editorial, commenting on Lindbergh's speech, and naturally stressing the anti-Semitic angle, said: "If he (Lindbergh) is wrong, now is the time for at least one prominent Jew to come out openly against our involvement in Europe's war." The *Herald* editors might have found it refreshing to read George Sokolsky or Milton Mayer or Boake Carter—or perhaps they wouldn't have believed it anyway.

As went the *Herald*, so went *Scribner's Commentator*. The November issue of the latter carried a masthead proclaiming precisely the same stuff as that of the *Herald*—with two exceptions. Payson was still co-publisher of *Scribner's*, while Stewart was sole publisher of the *Herald*. The name of Charles G. Lind appeared as an "Assistant" in *Scribner's*, whereas the *Herald* used him as President of the Lake Geneva Publishing Company and added to its staff one "Assistant" who did not work for *Scribner's*—Robert

Fredricks. *Scribner's* editorial policy, like that of the *Herald*, became less concerned with "respectability." It carried an article by Boris Brasol, "Aid to Stalin? Incredible!" Brasol is the White Russian who brought the *Protocols of Zion* to the United States. Praising Jeannette Rankin, the Congresswoman who voted against war even after Pearl Harbor, it ran an article called, "Woman Against War."

Meanwhile, the *Herald* continued its crusades. Picturing Japan as the hero and the democracies as the villains of the Orient, one headline read: "Last Free Nation in Asia Looks to Aid From Japan—Thailand, Formerly Siam, Hopes for Better Rule Than That Offered by Democracies." A cartoon of Congressman Samuel Dickstein was pointedly anti-Semitic in flavor. Two issues carried the same picture of row after row of coffins draped with American flags. The picture, allegedly taken in Britain after the last war and allegedly showing coffins of American casualties ready to ship back to the United States, is one that William J. Grace made famous with his caption, "Bundles FROM Britain." Issue after issue of the *Herald* carried advertisements exhorting its readers to join the local chapters of the America First Committee. Advertisement after advertisement proclaimed: "Read the HERALD for news. Read SCRIBNER'S COMMENTATOR for background."

Then in city after city all over the United States salesmen of *Social Justice*, Father Coughlin's newspaper, plugged the Lake Geneva publications. In

Chicago, New York, Detroit, *Social Justice* vendors were questioned: "Where can we get more information like that included in Coughlin's magazine?" Always the answer was: "Read *Scribner's Commentator*."

Pumping prestige into all this were America's "respectables." Visitors to Lake Geneva during the summer of 1941 included Senators Burton K. Wheeler, Gerald P. Nye and Rush Holt; General Robert Wood, chairman of the America First Committee, and the all-American hero, Charles A. Lindbergh.

It was along about November, 1941, that fireworks really began going off in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. The *Washington Post* revealed that there was a connecting link between *Scribner's*, the *Herald* and Prescott Dennett, henchman of George Sylvester Viereck in the distribution of Nazi propaganda under the Congressional frank. Powerful short-wave radio instruments, capable of receiving any station in the world, were discovered in Lake Geneva. There were three receivers, geared to elaborate recorders which would preserve every transmission, and several other receivers. The Lake Geneva staff received word that Charles Payson was "through" with the enterprise. Ralph Townsend was summoned to appear before the special Grand Jury sitting in Washington. The *Herald* suspended publication, ending the jobs of twenty-five Lake Geneva people who worked for it. Charles G. Lind, President of Lake Geneva Publications, Incorporated, had his telephone disconnected.

Ralph Townsend, instead of appearing before the

Washington Grand Jury, disappeared. A nationwide search by Federal officers, centered in New York, Lake Geneva and San Francisco, brought no trace of Townsend.

The short-wave radio receivers were spirited away quickly. Two of the powerful receivers geared to recorders were found in the Nordenholt estate home of Seward Collins who quietly had taken a residence in Lake Geneva too. Collins is a New Yorker who belonged to the Lawrence Dennis set of "intellectual Fascists." Collins, taking his radio equipment with him, quickly left Lake Geneva and returned East. Engineers of a Chicago firm picked up other equipment from *Scribner's* headquarters.

Collins was called to testify before the Federal Grand Jury in Washington. So were Douglas Stewart, George Eggleston, Charles Lind, Frederick Kister and Bessie Feagin.

Then Louise Carus, slender blonde member of the *Herald-Scribner's* group, left Lake Geneva. The daughter of Edward H. Carus, LaSalle, Illinois, she resigned from *Scribner's* after disclosure that it was in her father's home that Dr. Friedrich Ernst Auhagen, German propaganda agent, was seized by Federal officers after he was indicted by a Washington Grand Jury. Auhagen, convicted for failure to register with the State Department as a German agent, was sentenced to an eight to twenty-four month prison term.

I was in Washington when the *Scribner's-Herald* crowd appeared before the Federal Grand Jury. It followed closely on the heels of the George Hill, Prescott Dennett, George Sylvester Viereck, Hamilton Fish, Senator Lundeen bunch. Dillard Stokes, reporter for the *Washington Post*, also appeared before the Grand Jury intermittently during this time. It was Stokes who had uncovered the tie-up between the Viereck-Hill-Dennett people and *Scribner's-Herald*. Perhaps his appearance in October had something to do with the *Scribner's-Herald* bunch being summoned in November.

Anyhow, I was there when Gladys LaVance, who worked for the Ford Motor Company at the World's Fair, appeared before the Grand Jury. And Bessie Feagin, who was listed as an "Assistant" for both *Scribner's* and the *Herald*, testified before the Grand Jury on November 4, 5 and 6. Of course, I couldn't question the witnesses, but I had a pretty good idea of what was going on.

I knew, for instance, that George Hill, working as a secretary to Hamilton Fish, compiled lists of isolationist-minded citizens from the fan mail sent in to Congressman Fish. I knew that he, working with other secretaries, compiled lists from the fan mail of other isolationist Senators and Congressmen. These lists were sent to the office of the Ford Motor Company in New York City, were sorted, and then forwarded to *Scribner's Commentator* and to the America First Committee. Dillard Stokes had revealed that Bessie Feagin

was *Scribner's* promotion manager and that she, following orders given her by George Eggleston, had given copies of these lists to Ralph Townsend a few weeks before the Grand Jury sought him and he disappeared. Stokes had proved, too, that Miss Feagin had sent the *Herald* to the names appearing on these Hill-compiled lists.

Meanwhile, lettershops, doing the work for *Scribner's* and the *Herald*, were reporting to me, so that I knew this material was being sent out to names marked clearly "Fish list," "Wheeler list," "Nye list," "Lindbergh list," and so on. I knew that Miss Feagin was getting a terrifically high percentage of returns on these "Fish-Wheeler-Lindbergh-etc." mailings. On some of the mailings she got returns as high as 25 percent (a 2 to 5 percent return is considered satisfactory in the direct mail business). I knew, too, from other investigators, that the Italian Library of Information, when it was closed on the executive order of President Roosevelt, had turned over its mailing list to *Scribner's Commentator*. I knew that in February, 1941, *Scribner's* had been barred from Canada, and that the Nazi-inspired National Book Mart in Los Angeles featured *Scribner's* alongside of work by Paul Joseph Goebbels.

I reasoned that Esther Van Sciver and Gladys La Vance testified to the Grand Jury about compiling the circulation lists from the fan mail of Lindbergh and various Congressmen and that Miss Feagin testified about *Scribner's* and *Herald* circulation policies. But did these witnesses know a lot more too?

Did they know where the *Scribner's-Herald* manna came from? Did they believe Stewart's fantastic stories about money flying through a window, mysteriously being placed on a table in his home, being handed to him in New York crowds?

Perhaps they knew something, for Eggleston and Stewart were hauled into court to explain why they had been coaching Bessie Feagin on her testimony before the Grand Jury. Such coaching is very much against the rules.

Stewart, himself, appeared before the Grand Jury just a week after Miss Feagin's three days of testimony. He was sent to jail for contempt of court because he refused to answer questions. George Eggleston, Charles Lind, Frederick Kister and Seward Collins must have been more amenable, for each of them appeared before the Grand Jury without further incident.

It was in December, 1941, that Ralph Townsend was found and hauled into the Grand Jury room. A year and a half later Townsend pleaded guilty as an unregistered Japanese agent and was sent to prison.

During the next few months *Scribner's-Herald* stragglers appeared before the Grand Jury. There was Kenneth Scott, a professor who wrote for *Scribner's Commentator*. There was Charles Payson, *Scribner's* financial angel, and John Gaede, veteran of the pro-Fascist, anti-Semitic movement who somehow managed to get tied up with this crowd. Townsend later was recalled; so were Stewart, Eggleston and Lind.

Meanwhile, I had learned from my lettershops that

bulk shipments of this outfit's literature were being sent to *every warship, Army and Navy installation in the Pacific*. Through the *Scribner's* crowd our armed forces in the Pacific were being told over and over that Japan did not want war with us; that we were threatening Japan, not vice-versa. Month after month this message went to the men to whom we had trusted our defenses. And, to make the message even more convincing, these words were packaged in an attractive magazine cover bearing successively the pictures of "respectables" like Henry Ford, Charles Lindbergh, Gerald P. Nye. No wonder our armed forces were not prepared for the attack on Pearl Harbor. Over and over they had been fed the line that the "New Dealers," not the Japanese, were "war-mongers." And the "line" had come to them from *Scribner's Commentator*, the magazine backed by "big" people, "important" people, people "in the know"—Congressmen and Senators, Ford, Lindbergh.

For months these *Scribner's-Herald* people paraded before the Grand Jury. The jurors must have heard about the group's pro-Nazi connections. If I, as a private investigator without any power of subpoena, could learn about the connection with Auhagen via Louise Carus, the connection with Viereck via George Hill and Ford's New York office, the connections with the "intellectual Fascist" Seward Collins and the Mussolini-supported Italian Library of Information, couldn't the Grand Jury learn even more? Did Douglas

Stewart tell the jurors where his money came from really? Why has this never been revealed? After Townsend was sentenced to jail for taking money from the Japanese without informing the State Department, and after Stewart went to jail for contempt of court, the whole thing was hushed up. Why? The third sedition indictment removed even the name, *Scribner's Commentator*, from the list of publications through which allegedly seditious propaganda flowed. *Scribner's* had numerous connections with the alleged seditionists; and it sent *bulk shipments* of its propaganda to the armed forces. Why all the hush-hush about *Scribner's*? Why all the secrecy?

Does the hush-hush come from the "big shots"? Was the pressure brought to bear by the Congressmen and Senators who were so intimately tied up with *Scribner's*? Was the third sedition indictment revised to include only "small fry" so that Ford and Lindbergh and Ham Fish could be whitewashed?

Now that there is going to be a full dress Congressional investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster, will we be able to find out the whole truth about *Scribner's Commentator*? Will we be able to find out who footed the bills while our "big shots" pounded home to our Army and Navy men the theme that we had nothing to fear from Japan and that Roosevelt was a "war-monger?" George T. Eggleston was given a good job in the Navy. Why? Frederick Kister was allowed to run loose so that he could be active in Chicago's "nationalist" movement. Now he is busy organizing "Christian

veterans" for Gerald L. K. Smith. What's happened to Douglas Stewart? No one seems to know. It's about time that someone exploded all this "secrecy." May I respectfully suggest that the Congressional Committee investigating Pearl Harbor try to do something about the secrets filed safely away in the records of Washington's Grand Juries. There buried in its musty pages probably are many of the answers to the question: Why was America unprepared at Pearl Harbor?

Manna has rained dutifully from heaven on more than just *Scribner's Commentator* and the *Herald*. Joseph P. Kamp, pamphleteer extraordinary, has been scraping it off his window sill for years, and he has uses for it which are more than vaguely reminiscent of *Scribner's*.

Kamp appeared before the Washington Grand Jury too. What he told the jurors, or didn't tell them, is still a secret. Evidently he told them something of note, however, for the first two sedition indictments handed down by these jurors, included Kamp's Constitutional Educational League as an organization through which the allegedly seditious propaganda flowed.

Then Kamp got into difficulties with another Federal group in December, 1944. This time he was indicted for contempt of Congress because he refused to disclose the contributors to the League. This list had been requested in a subpoena by the Anderson Congressional Committee investigating Federal campaign expenditures.

The Constitutional Educational League was dropped

from the third sedition indictment. Why? Who was trying to hush-hush the case of Joseph P. Kamp?

A lot of Kamp's story is already known. Back in the 1930's he, with the alleged seditionist Lawrence Dennis and others, ran the newspaper, *Awakener*. That paper once said: "There is, of course, no doubt in the mind of any thoroughly intelligent person . . . that constitutional government, democracy, liberty and property all rest on a number of basic assumptions which are myths or fictions." After the *Awakener* folded, Kamp announced that he would continue his "patriotic" work through an organization which, in name at least, appealed to one of the "myths or fictions" which the *Awakener* had spurned. Kamp, ironically enough, began carrying out his "patriotic activities" through the Constitutional Educational League.

From the time he took over the Constitutional Educational League in 1937 clear down to now, Kamp has remained "one of the boys." Like many of the alleged seditionists, his work was recommended by *World Service*, the Nazi propaganda newsletter published in Germany. His pamphlets were plugged and sold by the German American Bund, by a string of alleged seditionists—Pelley, McWilliams, Deatherage, True, Edmondson, Winrod, Dilling, Hudson, Sanctuary, Kullgren, Asher, De Aryan, Garner. Kamp got help in the distribution of his booklets from a former chairman of the "Americanism Committee" of the American Legion. Kamp worked with Coughlinites like Allen Zoll, who later was indicted for extortion relative to

calling off the Coughlinite pickets around radio station WMCA. Kamp helped to give a testimonial dinner for Major General George Van Horn Moseley, the pro-Fascist who contended: "They say there is a threat of Germany to the United States . . . I deny it . . . The real threat to America is from the British . . . We should make a treaty with Japan."

All this time that Kamp has cooperated (and continues to cooperate) with the alleged seditionists, the "nationalists," the isolationists, and the pro-Fascists, he has kept a steady stream of pamphlets pouring from his Constitutional Educational League. His specialty is Red-baiting, and he finds "Communism" in the most unexpected places. It's overrunning the South, he says. Naturally he thinks it has virtually overtaken our government; he declared it has an "iron grip" on the CIO; he thinks its evil tentacles are shooting forth from every liberal organization in the country. Kamp's idea of "Communism" is strongly reminiscent of that of Elizabeth Dilling, whom Kamp has praised and admired. Mrs. Dilling can't tell the difference between Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, "radical pacifists" and plain conservatives. In fact, she says the "Reds" have taken over just everything—even the YMCA, the YWCA and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

It is known, too, in a general way, just where Kamp's "manna" is coming from. He works his "patriotic" business like this: (1) He gives all his literature the "anti-Communist" slant. This may sound quite sensible.

To the innocents who don't know Kamp's background, it looks very "patriotic." And somehow there is a "100 percent American" ring in literature which pretends to protect our institutions from the onslaughts of the bearded Bolsheviks. (2) He prepares a good deal of his literature with wealthy industrialists in mind. Naturally, an industrialist is not likely to be well disposed toward labor unions who want to cut the profits by hiking the wages. So all Mr. Kamp needs to do is persuade the industrialists that "Communists" are running the labor unions. After that fighting the unions is not only a selfish, personal matter; it becomes a "patriotic duty." (3) Kamp sends sample copies of his "anti-Communist" literature to select mailing lists—each person on the list is a potential buyer of quantity lots for wholesale distribution. This section of the business is carried on by mail. (4) He hires trained salesmen to call on other prospective customers. These salesmen keep 25 percent or more of the take. One representative made upwards of \$16,000 in one year.

Kamp's "manna" keeps pouring in, and his presses keep pouring out pamphlets aimed at convincing the readers that every liberal reform is somehow a "Communist plot." And on the side, Kamp keeps right on cooperating with the "nationalists," the pro-Fascists, the people whom the Federal Grand Juries charged with conspiring to undermine the morale of our armed forces.

Yet nothing is done about Kamp. There hasn't even been a complete exposé. The Grand Jury secrets are

still secret. Industrialists are pouring money into Kamp's enterprises, but which industrialists? A complete exposé of Kamp's contributors would tend to dry up the pamphleteer's sources of income. In the first place, potential contributors would examine much more closely the "causes" to which they are contributing if they knew their names were to be revealed. Secondly, many who know what Kamp stands for, and contribute anyway, would not do so if Kamp could not guarantee anonymity.

So around and around we go. Wealthy and influential industrialists contribute to Kamp. Kamp refuses to reveal their names to the Anderson Committee. (Maybe he revealed them to the Grand Jury, but that's a secret.) The industrialists then use their influence to prevent the government from forcing Kamp to reveal his secrets. Meanwhile, Kamp's business is flourishing, and week after week, month after month, he contributes his bit to the "nationalist" cause.

Just when is something going to be done about Kamp? Just when is something going to be done about *Scribner's*? Just when are all the "secrets" going to stop being "secrets"? Individuals from the old *Scribner's* set-up are active again; Joe Kamp has scarcely been given a moment of pause in his "patriotic" occupation. These people *can* be stopped. They *will* be stopped if the people and Congress decide against secrecy.

6

She Stoops Low to Conquer

Shortly before his death, Frank Knox, then Secretary of the Navy, issued a public and stinging rebuke to a "mothers" organization which had mailed obnoxious letters to families of deceased servicemen. Frank Knox stated emphatically that by mailing letters, blaming the war on Roosevelt, the British or the Jews . . . these "mothers" were attempting to break down the morale of the people on the home front.

But the letters continued. The flood became greater. Mothers all over the United States, who had received casualty notices from War or Navy Departments would shortly thereafter receive an anonymous letter thanking them for "donating their sons to the (Jewish, Communist, Roosevelt or British) war." The letters varied in style but all followed a similar pattern of appeals. Distrust, fear, racial hatred . . . the same Fascist type of intolerance which the Nazis had employed so thoroughly in the days before Pearl Harbor. In some cases, letters were received by grieving mothers typed on *second sheets* bearing the watermark of the War De-

partment. One such carried the disgusting parody starting "Onward Christian Soldiers . . . fighting Jewry's war . . . with the Cross of Stalin . . . going on before" with six more stanzas of similar disruption. A pen-written postscript tied in with the recipient's actual loss.

As the campaign became more violent, I determined to track down the source and to expose the warped minds behind it. Proceeding as I had worked before in exposing Nazi organized propaganda mailing campaigns, I arranged to have "dummy names" placed on the mailing lists of suspected organizations and individuals.

The system is simple—a friend in Minneapolis, under a distinctive assumed name or code address, writes a "sympathetic" letter to the suspect; asks to join the organization and be placed on list. Another friend in St. Louis does likewise. Another from Los Angeles, Boston, etc. If that "dummy name" receives a piece of mail addressed in the same peculiar spelling (not possible on any other list) then we know that mailing originated as a result of "joining" the suspected organization. If *all* dummy names on one list receive same mailing piece, then we can assume that a larger mailing list received similar material.

This system again succeeded in uncovering the source of the letters to the mothers of casualties . . . or rather the source of the planning. Here is a simple explanation of (1) the character behind the scheme and (2) how she made it work.

Agnes Waters is well known around Washington . . . especially in Congressional hearings. Since 1939 she has appeared or campaigned against such projects as neutrality repeal; repeal of the arms embargo; Lend-Lease; the Selective Service Act; the Price Control Bill; the extension of the draft; the Fair Employment Practices Committee; various manpower bills, the drafting of nurses, peacetime training and the United Nations Charter. She also opposed our invasion of Normandy, protested the "banning" of Father Coughlin's *Social Justice* from the mails, defended the alleged seditionists, demanded the impeachment of President Roosevelt, called for an immediate negotiated peace, and announced that she would seek both the Republican and Democratic nominations for President in 1944.

Mrs. Waters says she got into the pro-Fascist movement in February, 1939, when she attended a "Stop-Hitler Meeting" at the National Press Building in Washington. She later discovered that the meeting was backed by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. This group, according to Mrs. Waters, is a Communist front, dominated by the British, and made up primarily of Jews and Negroes.

Mrs. Waters calls herself the Washington representative of the National Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania; Mothers of America, Detroit, Michigan; and We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America, Chicago. (All active in pre-war days in the foreign-inspired campaign to keep us unprepared.)

When she testifies before Congressional Committees, Agnes Waters identifies herself as the "unofficial legislative representative of millions of American women." She has claimed to represent about 80 percent of the women in the United States.

Her claims, of course, are exaggerated, but she obviously does represent the organizations named since she has appeared at the "mothers" Peace Conferences, and has been lecturing at "teas" in Detroit and other cities under auspices of one or more of the "women" groups, which are currently aligned with Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party in disrupting world peace plans.

The "dummy names" on the Agnes Waters' National Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania mailing list finally proved conclusively that the letters to mothers of casualties could be traced back to Agnes Waters. Part of the plan was carried out without the payment of postage. The investigation developed the following startling facts:

1. Agnes Waters secured by deception or pilfering the franked envelopes of a number of members of Congress—including Congressmen Priest, Mansfield, Gifford and Senator Russell. None of these Congressmen authorized the use of their envelopes for Waters' purposes.

2. Agnes Waters then addressed the franked envelopes and mailed to her "key mothers" throughout the country the casualty lists issued regularly by the War and Navy Departments. How she got the large quantities of casualty lists is still somewhat of a mystery but

the lists were "available." Of course, she paid no postage on the bulky lists since the Congressional frank was used.

3. The "key mothers" who received the casualty lists were instructed in meeting or by personal letters to pick out the names of bereaved parents *in their localities* and to mail letters or circulars to them. Arguments, poems, forms of various kinds were furnished, either by Waters or the Blue Star Mothers of Pennsylvania, whose ideas of disruption, soft peace and hatred of the Government are similar to those of their Washington representative.

That is how simple the whole ugly plan was.

It was difficult to stop, because the law is peculiar. Democracy leans over backward to be fair. Sometimes too far backward. We have no adequate laws to protect us from this type of poison pen warfare.

I can give here a little of the background of "the law" in the Agnes Waters case.

Congressman Percy Priest of Tennessee was indignant when he learned that his frank was being used without his permission to help carry on this nefarious campaign. He would be the last man in Congress to cooperate with such an activity. Congressman Priest personally and in writing appealed to the Postmaster General, demanding an investigation and prosecution (if the facts warranted). The Post Office Inspection Service actually did investigate. Agnes Waters was interviewed. The franked envelopes (used "illegally") were examined.

A complete report was given by Postal Inspectors to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia. The report was studied. Congressman Priest urged action. Others urged action . . . again . . . and again. But the case was closed, without action.

Why? Well, there are loopholes in the law. Agnes Waters couldn't be prosecuted for sedition, or undermining morale. There's no law against thanking a mother for donating her son to a "phoney war." Freedom of speech! Even though Agnes Waters used the franks of various members of Congress (without authority) to mail bulky casualty lists to avoid payment of postage and add to her prestige as a Washington go-getter . . . technically there is *no penalty* attached to the misuse of the franking privilege. Congress never fixed a penalty for a violation of *its privilege*.

So, the prosecution obviously was unwilling to proceed against Agnes Waters because the case *might not stick*. The representative of the worst "mother racket" got away with it again. She continues to spread hatred and intolerance unmolested and unchecked by law or any rules of decency.

But perhaps the investigation, the revelations and the publicity will accomplish some good. Congressional office help, postal clerks, Capitol guards *have been alerted*. It won't be so easy for Agnes Waters to get franked envelopes in the future. Perhaps the Army found out who was obtaining second sheets—and how.



What has this story got to do with *It's a Secret?* Plenty. It is the kind of thing which the "mothers" groups did before the war, during the war, and are doing now. Almost without exception these women have moved about scot free, although a long line of them paraded before the Washington Grand Jury. Laura Ingalls went to jail as an unregistered Nazi agent, and Elizabeth Dilling was indicted, charged with sedition three different times. Mrs. Dilling's "work" was a trifle upset by these inconveniences, but she managed to carry on in spite of the indictments and the more than seven months spent in Washington at the sedition trial. The other "mothers" were untouched. Agnes Waters, who is closely tied up with the whole movement, was not even called to testify before the Grand Jury. Who backs these "mothers"? The whole story of how they operate is still a secret. And a big portion of that secret is locked in the records of the Grand Jury and in the heads of the Grand Jurors who aren't allowed to talk.

Elizabeth Dilling was the first of the "mothers" to be called before the Grand Jury. She appeared first in September, 1941, along with the witnesses testifying about Flanders Hall, the Nazi publishing house, and about the Viereck-financed Make Europe Pay War Debts and Islands for War Debts Committees. What connection, if any, did Mrs. Dilling have with these Nazi-inspired ventures? Perhaps Mrs. Dilling told the Grand Jury. Perhaps she also told the jurors about her own trips to Germany, about her witch-hunt for

"Reds" here in America which extended to the Quakers and the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Perhaps she told, too, about her trip to Franco Spain and about how royally she was entertained by the Spanish Fascists. She might have shown her movie picturing Spanish children greeting her with the Fascist salute and explained it in her usual fashion: "That's the way little Spanish boys say 'hello' to a Christian lady." Maybe she told, too, about the endless string of "mothers" groups she inspired, and about how she had led a herd of women to Washington to crusade against lend-lease and for the impeachment of President Roosevelt.

At one point, during the early days of the war, I made a list of the "mothers" groups who were active in the pro-Fascist crusade. There were *well over fifty* of them—and that lacked a good deal of being a complete count. It included only those which I, personally, had run across in my private investigations. How many more there must have been that never cropped up in my path!

Of this list of more than fifty "mothers" groups, the great bulk were inspired by two women—Elizabeth Dilling and Cathrine Curtis.

Miss Curtis, who has never married, was the leader of a whole string of organizations including the National Legion of Mothers of America. She appeared before the Grand Jury in November, 1941, while the jurors were considering the strange case of *Scribner's Commentator*. Just what connection Miss

Curtis had with *Scribner's*, I don't know. That is a deep, dark secret. It seems likely, however, that she did have some connection, for the rest of the "mothers" did not appear until much later. The bulk of them showed up after October, 1943.

There is a lot Miss Curtis could have told the Grand Jury. She could have told about her respectable start in politics when she organized the Women Investors, a New York group on the conservative side, but on the whole rather decent. She might have told about expanding the group to a nation-wide organization, Women Investors IN America. Miss Curtis, by this time, had decided that all American women were investors in America, whether they owned stocks and bonds or whether they had a difficult time collecting the money to meet current household expenses. This gave Miss Curtis quite a wide field in which to operate, and she allowed no grass to grow under her feet.

She organized a women's Finance Congress; she organized a women's committee for "Hands Off the Supreme Court." She went rabidly anti-Roosevelt—so rabidly that anything the late President recommended would send her off to organize a new committee to fight it. She became bitterly isolationist, for the President was "interventionist." She became bitter about the word "democracy"; this country is not and was not intended to be a "democracy," she insisted—it is, rather a "republic." Some might say that this is rather splitting hairs, but to Miss Curtis and her pro-Fascist buddies, this was an important point.

Anyhow, Miss Curtis took up with Laura Ingalls who was later convicted as an unregistered Nazi agent. She also picked up Michael Ahearn and made him the "research director" of the various Curtis enterprises. Ahearn in the old days worked for James True, the alleged seditionist who invented and patented the "Kike Killer."* Miss Curtis took up headquarters in Washington, D. C., and with the help of Ahearn pounded Congress with protests against lend-lease and tirades against "internationalism." She went on speaking tours to the West Coast and organized isolationist "mothers" groups along the way.

All of this, and much more, Miss Curtis could have told the Grand Jury. But what she told remains a secret. The Better Business Bureau was told that Miss Curtis had moved from her New York office and left no forwarding address. Meanwhile, some of the "mothers" groups which Miss Curtis inspired are carrying on. And Miss Curtis herself showed up recently in Washington where she is setting up new headquarters.

Other leaders of the "mothers" movement showed up before the Grand Jury too. There was Mrs. David Stanley, head of the United Mothers of America, Cleveland. Mrs. Stanley's group attracted the Silver-Shirt, Coughlinite, and Bund elements to its meetings; it cooperated wholeheartedly with Gerald L. K. Smith. Mrs. Stanley, after a fashion, was a disciple of Eliza-

* See page 205.

beth Dilling. "God bless your colleagues," she wrote Mrs. Dilling, "in your 100 percent patriotic work for us Americans." Mrs. Stanley is still most active . . . as I will show in Chapter Ten. Then there was Mrs. Catherine P. Baldwin, Coughlinite leader of the Defenders of the Constitution of the United States. There was Mary Leach, Elizabeth Dilling's secretary, and Laura Ingalls, the unregistered Nazi agent. Cathrine Curtis was recalled by the Grand Jury late in 1943. And it was then that Mrs. Lyrle Clark Van Hynning, the biggest figure in the war and post-war "mothers" movement, was called to testify. Ida Cooper, a New York friend of Mrs. Dilling, appeared before the Grand Jury too; so did Julia Kraus, a friend of Laura Ingalls; Maude DeLand, a ubiquitous pamphleteer; and Mrs. David Goode, the "mother" who worked to unite under one banner America's isolationists.

Although they represented only a segment of the "mothers" movement, the women who appeared before the Grand Jury could have told a very great deal. They probably did, for the first two sedition indictments not only included Elizabeth Dilling but also mentioned two of the "mothers" groups, We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America and Crusading Mothers of America, as organizations through which allegedly seditious material flowed. These two organizations, however, were dropped from the third sedition indictment. Why? We know that both organizations engaged in the ghoulis business of telling mothers of our war casualties that their sons were lied and tricked into a

war which was none of their affair. Perhaps the Grand Jury knew that and more too. But that is a secret.

Even knowing that victory was just around the corner didn't slacken the activities of the "mothers" movement. En masse, the "mothers" moved to San Francisco last April to protest against America's cooperating with the other nations of the world. They fought hard against the United Nations Charter. The whole thing, they implied, was a Communistic-Jewish-International Banking conspiracy which would enslave all the peoples of the earth. Nor did our having been at war for more than three years help to convince them that a victory for the Allies would be desirable. Even in 1945 the "mothers" were distributing a book saying that the Nazis and Japanese had adopted ideologies which would ultimately lead to "progress" and teach people to "live without wars." Even after the fall of Germany—in June, 1945, the "mothers" did not pause for a new refrain. That month We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America held a "peace convention" in Chicago. As they had done for years, they demanded an immediate negotiated peace with Japan. As always, their meeting attracted the alleged seditionists—E. N. Sanctuary and Robert Lyman were there. And of course Agnes Waters was there eager to lynch virtually everyone on Capitol Hill.

The "mothers" are carrying their disruptionist activities right on into our peacetime world, and they stand a good chance of achieving a measure of success.

In the first place, they have an excellent appeal. They call upon peace-loving mothers to join the crusade. "We'll save your sons," they say. "We'll keep them at home and not send them to fight in foreign wars." In the second place, the "mothers" work tirelessly at their jobs. One after another of them parades before Congressional committees, pleading against the United Nations Charter, against the Bretton Woods agreements, against any proposals for international cooperation. Sometimes the witnesses, like Agnes Waters, are so obviously crackpot that the Congressmen try to brush them off quickly. But sometimes they are more sedate—as Cathrine Curtis used to be.

* * * *

Senator Carter Glass, after observing a collection of "mothers" brought to Washington by Mrs. Dilling, once remarked: "I believe it would be pertinent to inquire whether they are mothers. For the sake of the race, I devoutly hope not."

The Senator's wish is echoed by a good number of Senators and Congressmen, but there are those on Capitol Hill who still take the "mothers" seriously. Senator William Langer of North Dakota introduced into the *Congressional Record* testimony against the United Nations Charter. This testimony, he admitted, was given by Carl Mote, who represented sixteen organizations, including the National Blue Star Mothers of Philadelphia (this is the same as the Crusading Mothers of America mentioned in two sedition indictments); United Mothers of Cleveland; and

Mothers of Minnesota. And the Coughlinite Catherine Baldwin has been getting attention in the *Congressional Record* too. We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America was instrumental in getting signatures to Arthur W. Terminiello's petition, which was inserted in the *Congressional Record* by Senator William Langer. And so it goes.

The "mothers" movement is far from dead. Because the collapse of the sedition trial gave the "mothers" the green light, it is stalking us into the postwar world. We fight it as best we can, but we are handicapped by not knowing all about the movement. Right now, our only weapon is exposé. How can these exposés be complete when we don't know why Elizabeth Dilling was called to testify along with Flanders Hall and Viereck witnesses? How can we thoroughly expose the Curtis-sponsored groups when we don't know why Cathrine Curtis was called to testify along with the *Scribner's* crowd? We know that Curtis was connected with the Nazi agent, Laura Ingalls, but just how closely? Virtually nothing is known about the financial backing of these groups. What did the Grand Jury find out? That . . . is a secret!

7

Big Frogs in Small Puddles

A chubby, blustery, red-faced man walked into the Washington Telephone Company one summer day in 1945. He flashed on the office manager an impressive looking gold badge, bearing in prominent raised letters "National Commander." He complained indignantly about his common telephone number. "My organization deserves a patriotic number," he shouted. His badge was convincing. His story was awe-inspiring. So the telephone company gave him the number that he demanded . . . National 1776.

This remarkable incident marked the re-birth of the Protestant War Veterans of which Edward James Smythe is "National Commander." Smythe got into the pro-Fascist, anti-Semitic movement back in the middle 1930's when he first launched the P.W.V., and when, in leaflets, letters, and speeches he tiraded against the Jews, the Catholics, and our form of government. He proposed pogroms against minorities, and added: "Will we ask support of Hitler? Yes, if we need to . . ."

Smythe, too, was a liaison man in the pro-Fascist field. It was he who organized the joint meeting of the

Ku Klux Klan and the German American Bund in Camp Nordland back in August, 1940. Hooded Klansmen solemnly shook hands and made common cause with swastika-bedecked, uniformed Bund members. The crowd heiled Hitler while the "100 percent American" Smythe presided at the marriage ceremony.

After America's entry into the war, Smythe relegated his Protestant War Veterans to the background, and devoted his time to another of his organizations, the Protestant Chaplains Association. (Incidentally, all of Smythe's organizations—and they have been legion—are primarily "letterhead" groups. He has never been able to muster a sizable and solid following for any of his movements. He has, instead, been able to use his letterhead organizations as fronts for various promotion schemes and liaison work.) In pushing the Protestant Chaplains Association, Smythe took unto himself a front man—the self-styled "Bishop" Alexander Lowande. Lowande was a circus bareback rider who took to religion and formed his own "United Christian Church." The church had and has no congregation, and Lowande nominated and elected himself "Bishop" all on his own hook.

Smythe, persuading the "Bishop" to sign all the letters, set out to make himself big-time by sponsoring a national "Day of Prayer." The work went beautifully. No one remembered that the Protestant Chaplains Association was a dusted-off title used by Smythe back in the 1930's. Support for the Day of Prayer poured in from everywhere. Nine state governors endorsed

the project. Prominent Jewish Rabbis and Catholic Priests promised cooperation. Then someone discovered that the Protestant Chaplains Association really was Smythe . . .

Smythe hadn't changed his mind about the Jews and the Catholics when he asked them to cooperate in a "Day of Prayer." He hadn't changed his mind about our form of government when he asked prominent members of our government (including governors and even President Roosevelt) to endorse his project. *He simply was gathering unto himself prestige, he hoped, so that his future crusades would have an air of respectability, so that more credence would be attached to his opinions, his organizations, and his plans for America.*

Fortunately, exposure killed that promotion scheme of Smythe's, and soon he was overtaken by a series of sedition indictments. When the sedition trial (in which Smythe was one of the 30 defendants) opened in Washington in April, 1944, Smythe lit out for Canada. He was apprehended by the FBI, however, and brought back to Washington where he complained bitterly that he had not been properly "informed" about the trial's opening. Throughout the seven and a half months of the trial (which ended abruptly with Judge Eicher's death in December, 1944), Smythe was a constant irritant in the courtroom. He refused to cooperate even with his own counsel; day after day he would weave drunkenly about the courtroom; his curses, his "objections," his out-of-order speeches re-

sounded in the court, the corridors, and on the grounds.

The end of the sedition trial was simply the go-ahead sign for Smythe to resume his promotion schemes, his sometimes-you-see-them and sometimes-you-don't subversive activities. He revived his Protestant War Veterans, printed some red, white, and blue "Victory Stamps," persuaded the Washington Telephone Company to give him a "patriotic" telephone number, printed some impressive P. W. V. letterheads, and got to work. Talented as he is in getting the cooperation of "respectables," he soon persuaded James Waldo Fawcett, stamp columnist for the *Washington Star*, to take an active interest in the "Victory Stamps". Through Fawcett, the stamps were put on sale at the Washington Episcopal Cathedral during the May 1945 Cathedral Festival Week—50 percent of the proceeds going to the Cathedral building fund and 50 percent going to the Protestant War Veterans. Persuasive letters on P. W. V. stationery streamed into the House and Senate Office Buildings, and Smythe boasted of his "friends" on Capitol Hill. On the side, Smythe wrote to Elmer Davis of the OWI threatening an investigation of the OWI's "Jewish-Communist control," complaining, too, that the OWI was suppressing the sale of his stamps. Smythe advertises frequently in the *Washington Star* for salesmen to sell his stamps and other printed matter at a 40% commission.

Even though the sedition trial was halted, even though "secrecy" probably will prevent its ever being

reopened, Smythe could be prosecuted for his current activities, IF . . . anyone cared. Smythe's stamps are illegal; the Post Office will not allow them to be put on envelopes. He could be prosecuted for obtaining money under false pretenses. His Protestant War Veterans does not exist except on a letterhead; therefore the stamps he is selling are a fraud. But the United States attorney in Washington is not going to prosecute, in spite of the pleas of the Better Business Bureau and others. Smythe, open as he is at times in his pro-Fascist activities, is able to involve too many "respectables" in his projects. The full story of Smythe and his associates probably will never be brought to light. It's a secret . . .

The story of Smythe is representative of many of the big frogs in little puddles. He's paranoiac, after a fashion. He's a crackpot, whom many would ignore. Some say he isn't dangerous. Yet he has the facility of involving really important people in his un-American schemes. And herein lies the danger . . .

One of the thirty defendants, while languishing in jail prior to the sedition trial, wrote a letter to "a friend" saying that he regretted having taken any action against his country. He had never had time to think before, he said. He had been too busy with his propaganda mill and attending meetings—including America First Committee meetings. And even while thinking in jail, he felt a bit confused and uncertain. What had he done, he wondered, except follow the line laid down

by the big shots like Hamilton Fish and Senator Lundeen? Even his own little hate sheet was largely filled with reprints of Congressional speeches.

Of course Smythe hasn't repented, just as most of the alleged seditionists have not repented. But Smythe, like the rest, is primarily dangerous because of his connection with big shots, because, operating in a small way, he does the work that the big shots need to have done.

If Fascism were to come to America, Smythe probably would not be rewarded for his spade-work. He might even be "purged" for he is notorious for his inability to get along over a period of time even with fellow pro-Fascists. Smythe, and others like him, are important because of the groundwork they lay for those who are to follow. They are important, too, because they exist in large numbers. If Smythe were jailed tomorrow for fraud, some new pro-Fascist would crop up to take his place. As Hitler said to Rauschnig: "We shall find men to do our work, everywhere. We won't even have to buy them. They'll come looking for us driven by ambition, by partisan discord, by blindness, by pride and by hatred." Hitler was right, and even his defeat and death (?) have not changed the accuracy of his prophecy. His movement lives after him . . .

These small fry, these big frogs in a small puddle, like Smythe—trailed endlessly before the Washington Grand Juries. There were the Irish who hated Britain

more than Hitler; the Fundamentalists who saw in Hitler God's answer to the "atheistic Bolsheviks;" the paranoiacs with their persecution complexes and with their dreams of Hitler, astride Hirohito's white horse, freeing suffering humanity from the evil, clutching schemes of the Jews.

The complete story of these small fry probably will never be known. From the halls of the mighty comes their "protection." And they will continue to be protected as long as their exposure would entail exposing some of the "mighty" along with them.

Chronologically, now, we shall follow some of the small fry into the Grand Jury room. We shall imagine what the Grand Jury heard. The whole story is locked in secrecy. But some of it we know, and we also know some things which the Grand Jury never heard, for the last witnesses appeared on January 3, 1944. The small fry have been very active since then.

Early in the proceedings, after getting George Hill, George Sylvester Viereck, Charles Coughlin, and *Scribner's Commentator* off its chest, the Grand Jury heard Charles B. Hudson, editor of the vitriolic sheet, *America In Danger*, his son William, and his wife, Avis. From these three the Grand Jurors probably heard long stories about "Communistic-Jewish-Atheistic-International Banking conspiracies." They probably heard that Hudson's sheet was recommended highly by *World Service*, the Nazi propaganda bulletin published in Erfurt, Germany. They heard that

Hudson was a trusted adviser of Major General George Van Horn Moseley, a retired army officer who was groomed by a coalition of American Fascists to take over the government. They probably heard that Hudson trailed Moseley into the Dies Committee hearings and jerked a glass of water out of the General's hand because the water might be "poisoned." They heard that Elizabeth Dilling, after writing the viciously anti-Semitic book, *The Octopus*, wanted to keep her identity secret, so she signed it with the alias "Frank Woodruff Johnson" and gave Hudson's Omaha address as the home of the Reverend Johnson. They heard that Hudson signed the receipts for registered letters addressed to "Johnson." They heard that streams of unaddressed, franked envelopes poured into Hudson's office, and that Avis and Charles sat up night after night addressing these franked envelopes.

On the basis of the Grand Jury findings Charles Hudson was indicted three times, charged with sedition. He went on trial with the twenty-nine others and, temporarily, publication of *America In Danger* was suspended. In January, 1945, after Judge Eicher's death, Hudson revived his sheet. Currently, it is coming out three times a month; it's still full of its stories of "Communistic-Jewish-International Banking conspiracies." It still says, in effect, that Hitler was right.

Trailing Hudson into the Grand Jury room was William Robert Lyman, ex-publicity director of the National Workers League, Detroit. Lyman had a long story to tell—about his working with Parker Sage and

Garland Alderman in promoting the N. W. L. He probably told how the three made no bones about being pro-Nazi; that Alderman proudly allowed his picture to be taken giving the Hitler salute. He probably told about the N. W. L.'s sending representatives into Detroit war plants with instructions to foment hatred against Jews and Negroes. He probably told (or should have) about Sage and Alderman's crusading against the Sojourner Truth Housing Project, the housing unit erected for Negro occupancy; about the riots that broke out when the Negroes tried to move in; about Sage and Alderman's having been indicted on charges of fomenting the riots. He probably told about the National Workers' League following infiltrating the America First Committee. About how the League advertised A. F. C. meetings which were to be addressed by big names like Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

Lyman, Sage, and Alderman went on trial for sedition in January, 1944. Many of their secrets were never divulged; the trial ended too quickly. Where was their money coming from? Were Chicago industrialists footing the bills for disruption in the plants, for attempts to break the "too tolerant" unions? These three are quiet now. But are they working under cover? New race riots, experts say, are simmering in Detroit. Are the National Workers' League boys at work again? No one on our side knows. There has been no thorough airing of the case. It's a secret . . .

Following Robert Lyman into the Grand Jury room was Gerald Winrod, editor of the *Defender*, Wichita,

Kansas. Winrod is a Fundamentalist minister who for years has been given to various "crusades". He fought against the teaching of evolution back in the 1920's when militant Fundamentalists held that not a breath of the evolution theory should contaminate our public schools. Later, when the Ku Klux Klan rode the plains of Kansas, he crusaded against the Catholics. It took the advent of Hitler and a trip to Germany to convince the Rev. Winrod that the Jews were the principal enemy, and that both evolution and Catholics must take a back seat. Subscriptions to the *Defender* skyrocketed; soon the magazine had a circulation of 50,000. Winrod may have told all this to the Grand Jury. He may have told, too, how his magazine printed the Nazi propaganda manufactured in Erfurt, Germany, and mailed out in the news sheet, *World Service*. He may have told about his cooperation with other alleged seditionists, about his addressing Fundamentalist meetings and conventions all over the country, about his work in siphoning one Fundamentalist minister after another into the pro-Fascist movement—W. D. Herrstrom, editor of *Bible News Flashes*, Harvey Springer, editor of *Western Voice*. Maybe he told about his work with Robert Rice Reynolds, who, until he did not choose to run in the last election, was chairman of the powerful Military Affairs Committee in the United States Senate.

Winrod was named in all three of the sedition indictments. He went on trial in January, 1944, and appeared in session after session of the trial until it was dismissed

in December. But the *Defender* never missed an issue. Its militant pro-Nazism toned down a bit, it kept right on appearing, reprinting the speeches of disruptionist Congressmen, going "nationalist" along with Gerald L. K. Smith. And so it still continues. How closely was Winrod connected with the Nazis? Just what happened when the Reverend went to Germany? What caused him to abandon his other "crackpot" crusades to follow Hitler's particular variety of crackpotism? Precisely how did Winrod's crusade fit in with Robert Rice Reynold's movement? These are still unanswered questions. For it's a secret.

Elmer J. Garner followed Winrod into the Grand Jury room. Garner edited *Publicity*, a weekly newspaper, which, like Winrod's *Defender*, was published in Wichita, Kansas. *Publicity* was given to phrases like "Mongolian Jew-controlled Roosevelt dynasty" and to the theory that Hitler was more to be desired than Roosevelt. Its pages were a regular clearing house for articles by other alleged seditionists—Robert Noble, who, during the battle for Bataan, yelled "To hell with MacArthur!"; Edward James Smythe, the Klan-Bund liaison man; Count Victor Cherep Spiridovich, the Jew-baiter; Ellis O. Jones, Robert Noble's right-hand man. Maybe Garner told all this to the Grand Jury. Maybe he told them about his connections with German propaganda organizations in the United States. Garner knew everyone; he probably had a lot to tell—including whether Congressmen consented to his reprinting their speeches. But what Garner knew will forever be a

secret. The old man (he had passed his eightieth birthday) died shortly after the opening of the sedition trial last spring.

David Baxter, during the weeks of April 10 to 29, was in Washington along with Garner and testified before the Grand Jury. Baxter, who is from Arcadia, California, was converted to the "cause" by one Prince Zur Lippe, a Nazified German. Filled with Zur Lippe ideology, he edited *Comment* from his home in Arcadia. After the sedition trial opened, Baxter enlisted a good deal of sympathy, because (1) he is very hard of hearing, (2) obviously was quite poor, and (3) his wife and two small children were in the courtroom. Eventually Baxter was severed from the mass sedition trial because even his hearing aid did not enable him to understand all that was said in the courtroom. All that Baxter told the Grand Jury was lost to the public, buried in the Department of Justice files. How closely was Baxter tied up with Zur Lippe? How closely was Zur Lippe tied up with the Nazis? To what extent were the two connected with the Congressional franking scandal? It's all a secret.

Michael Ahearn, who followed Baxter in appearing before the Grand Jury, has never been indicted for sedition, although he's had his fingers in a dozen pro-Fascist pies. It was Ahearn who, with the alleged seditionist James True, organized America First, Inc., back in the 1930's. America First, Inc. was to be an organization with a mass following—\$1 membership dues. It was a straight pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic outfit,

but somehow it misfired and Ahearn was out looking for another job. The name, however, in carrying over to the America First Committee, must have exceeded True's and Ahearn's wildest ambitions. Ahearn could have told the Grand Jury about the allegedly seditious George Deatherage too, for Ahearn's name cropped up in Deatherage's correspondence. And he probably had a lot to say about Cathrine Curtis, who was second only to Elizabeth Dilling as a leader of the pro-Fascist "mothers." Ahearn worked closely with Miss Curtis for many months. Later he joined forces with Joseph Kamp of the Constitutional Educational League. These two conferred with Congressmen regarding plans to "get" John Roy Carlson, author of the anti-Fascist exposé, *Under Cover*. But Ahearn's testimony is buried in the records of the Grand Jury proceedings.

Herman D. Kissenger appeared before the Grand Jury shortly after Ahearn. Kissenger could have told a long story about his record as a journalist whose writings were published in the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, organ of the German American Bund, and in a variety of pro-Fascist sheets. He could have told of his arrest shortly after Pearl Harbor and his release, because Attorney General Biddle did not want to abridge "free speech." But what Kissenger knows will probably never be made public. Like Ahearn, he escaped being included in the sedition indictment, and his brief fling at appearing before representatives of the people is carefully hidden away and protected by Grand Jury secrecy.

Count Victor Cherep Spiridovich appeared before the Grand Jury two weeks after Kissenger—the intervening days being taken up with witnesses who testified about Father Charles E. Coughlin. The Count probably told the court that he was no Count at all—that he is plain Victor Broenstrupp, Midwesterner, who assumed the title and the work of Major General Cherep-Spiridovich when the latter died. Victor says that he is the adopted son of the White Russian Major General. In any case, the Major General was busy stirring up anti-Semitism in Chicago back in the 1920's. He distributed a book called *The Hidden Hand* which borrows extensively from the forged *Protocols of Zion* to prove that the Jews are hatching evil “conspiracies” against the “Gentile nations.” Victor took up where the Major General left off, and the advent of Hitler made the peddling of anti-Semitism easier. After all, anti-Semitism was a lot more fashionable in the 1930's than it had been a decade before, and the Count found some valuable allies. There was William Dudley Pelley, who heiled Hitler and wanted a pogrom against the Jews. There was Edward James Smythe, who has been discussed earlier. There was Elmer James Garner who printed the Count's articles in *Publicity*. Allies were just everywhere! But in any case, the story Broenstrupp had to tell is buried safely away—no one, so far, has been let in on the secret.

Colonel Eugene Nelson Sanctuary stalked into the Jury room shortly after Count Cherep Spiridovich had been there. The old Colonel probably would have

ended his days teaching obscurely in a Fundamentalist Sunday School and writing hymns if Hitler had not come to power in 1933. But Hitler did come to power, and Sanctuary suddenly discovered that the Jews are the real enemies of Fundamentalists. After that, following Hitler and denouncing the Jews became a duty as well as a pleasure, and Sanctuary wrote great streams of anti-Semitic abuse. Sanctuary had a few small-time groups of his own—such as the Christian Defenders and the World Alliance against Jewish Aggressiveness. But mostly he worked with the other alleged seditionists. Sanctuary must know a great many stories, for he has been in the movement for many years. But whatever he told the Grand Jury is forever locked away—in secrecy. Sanctuary was included in all three sedition indictments. He went on trial with the others in April, 1944, but he has been free and back in New York since the trial ended the following December. The latest is that he has been teaching “Bible Classes” in a Church basement and working with the New York branch of Robert Rice Reynolds’ Nationalist Party.

Court Asher, the Muncie, Indiana, publisher of *X-Ray* appeared before the Grand Jury just a week after Sanctuary. Asher was a bootlegger in prohibition days and he was once associated with the Ku Klux Klan. His ideological thesis is simple: to all intents and purposes all Jews are Communists; all Communists are Jews; and anyone whom Asher doesn’t like is a Jew-Communist. Of course Hitler liked neither the Jews nor the Communists; whereas, according to

Asher, President Roosevelt probably was both a Communist and a Jew. It was as simple as that. Asher was included in the first two sedition indictments, but was dropped from the third so that he was never brought to trial. *And during all this time Asher has retained the second class mailing privilege for X-Ray.* Furthermore, it looks as if he will keep it, even though well on into 1945 his paper was still running headlines: "Democracy—It Stinks!"

Following Asher into the Grand Jury room was Donald McDaniel, the Chicago dentist who financed the infamous Brennerman cartoons. Otto Brennerman, a Chicago artist, drew a series of cartoons depicting the United States as being crucified on the cross of lend-lease amidst the gloating of the "internationalists" — Roosevelt, Willkie, Morgenthau, and many others. All the "internationalists" were made to appear Semitic so that it would seem that only the Jews believed in the cause of the United Nations. The cartoons were reprinted by practically every "big frog" in the land. Garner gave them front page space in *Publicity*. Broenstrupp printed one on the back of an anti-Semitic tirade. Both Brennerman and McDaniel appeared in the first two sedition indictments but were dropped from the third. Why? Is it because they had no direct connection with the Nazis and only worked for and with the American Fascists who did? Were they dropped because the Department of Justice had no more on them than on a string of Congressmen . . . or because the Department of Justice had as much on

a string of Congressmen as it had on Brennerman and McDaniel? But then . . . that's a secret! The sedition indictments and trial may be squelched, but Brennerman and McDaniel aren't. They joined the "nationalist" Ralph Keeling in forming the Institute of American Economics, the successor to the Midwest Monetary Federation, where Joe ("Blood-will-run-in-the-streets") McWilliams once worked.

In the fall of 1942 George Deatherage appeared before the Federal Grand Jury. Deatherage first headed the Knights of the White Camellia, a "white supremacy" outfit, and later the American Nationalist Confederation. The Confederation used the swastika as its emblem and candidly called itself "Fascist." It was Deatherage who called the pro-Fascist convention in Kansas City, and everyone, from "Poison-cup Charlie" Hudson to the Goebbels-communicating Mrs. Leslie Fry, showed up. Later Deatherage was right-hand man to Major General George Van Horn Moseley when the latter was ready to ride up the White House steps on the shoulders of his Hitler-loving, Jew-hating comrades. Deatherage was included in the second and third indictments, and he went on trial with the other twenty-nine in April, 1944. After the trial ended the following December, he either went into obscurity or went under cover—the latter being more likely. Deatherage is an energetic and persistent man. An engineer by profession, he kept right on getting jobs in war plants even after being indicted for sedition, and it took frequent exposures to dislodge

him. Perhaps Deatherage is "engineering" again, and no doubt he's engineering a little pro-Fascist thought on the side.

Frank W. Clark appeared before the Grand Jury shortly after Deatherage, and his is a career which is long and varied. Clark is from Tacoma, Washington, where he ran an assortment of organizations, including a group known as the Young Buffaloes. In 1936 he ran the Washington State campaign for William Dudley Pelley who ran for President of the United States on the Christian Party ticket. Clark's most ambitious crusades were the National Liberty Party and the Yankee Freeman, both of which were ventures in which he was engaged with Lois de Lafayette Washburn.

Lois Washburn appeared before the Grand Jury too—just after Clark. Lois used to work with Donald Shea of the National Gentile League. That was long before the war and long before Shea was ousted from the Eastern defense area because he was held by the Army Exclusion Board to be a menace to public safety. After that she settled in Chicago for a while and ran a "Gentile" organization of her own. Then she joined Frank Clark in Tacoma. Lois just couldn't say enough against the Jews. They were trying to sell her into "white slavery," she said, and she had a small tiff with C. Leon De Aryan, editor of the *Broom*. The *Broom* carried ads for the Yellow Cabs, and, Lois said, everyone knows the Yellow Cabs are "Jew-controlled." Together Lois and Clark ran the National Liberty

Party and the Yankee Freeman, which advocated harsh measures against the Jews, a negotiated peace, and said, in effect, that the Axis, rather than the United Nations, was in the right.

Both Clark and Washburn were included in the second and third sedition indictments. Both went on trial in April, 1944. Lois gave the Hitler salute before entering the courthouse; she thumbed her nose (literally) at the hall of justice. You saw that picture in the papers.

It is people like these — out-and-out admirers of National Socialism — that the Congressmen keep defending against the “persecution” of the Department of Justice. Why? What did Clark and Washburn know that they told the Grand Jury? What is the “secret”?

None of the “big frogs” following Clark and Washburn before the Grand Jury were indicted for sedition. There was Henry D. Allen, Dan Gilbert, Guy Juene-mann. (Dennett and Viereck, both of whom were indicted, did appear later, but they are discussed in other sections of this book.) Allen probably evaded indictment because he decided to turn state’s evidence. Allen was a West Coast liaison man who was in and out of a dozen movements. He had a record of serving in both Folsom and San Quentin. His testimony should shed much light on the whole pro-Nazi conspiracy. But much of Allen’s testimony is locked up too. It’s a secret. Dan Gilbert is a Fundamentalist of the Winrod stripe who wrote prolifically for a number of publications. He’s still writing for the “nationalist” Walter

Steele's *National Republic*. Guy Juenemann was a hanger-on in Coughlinite and pro-Fascist circles in New York.

Twenty-three of the forty-one who were included in the three sedition indictments never appeared before the Grand Jury at all. Their stories must have been told by others, who did appear or to other Grand Juries in different cities—stories convincing enough to cause the Grand Jurors to deem them fit material for trial. If enough evidence came out of the witnesses who did appear to indict twenty-three who never set foot in the Jury room, how much more evidence, sketchily covered, must be hidden in the Grand Jury records?

Here, briefly described, are the twenty-three who did not rate Washington Grand Jury hearings; they may have been considered relatively unimportant, but their inclusion here is necessary in order to make my report complete:

OTTO BRENNERMAN—described briefly earlier in the chapter along with Donald McDaniel, who was a Grand Jury witness.

OSCAR BRUMBACK—leader of the No Foreign War Coalition, who was included in the first and second sedition indictments and dropped from the third. Brumback's organization, as a channel through which pro-Fascist propaganda flowed, was dropped from the third indictment too. Why? Was it because Brumback had offices in Washington and connections on Capitol Hill? That's a secret which is locked in the files of the Department of Justice.

C. LEON DE ARYAN—San Diego editor of the *Broom*. De Aryan spent some time in an insane asylum before the last world war and before he migrated to America. He came here and joined the

army, but when World War I broke out, he discovered that he was a conscientious objector, and accepted a dishonorable discharge. He sat out the war in Mexico, and later moved to San Diego where he founded the *Broom*. Catching the temper of Hitler's times, he took up anti-Semitism and pro-Nazism. He was a big distributor of franked mail from the Hill-Viereck mill in Ham Fish's office.

HANS DIEBEL—ran the Aryan Book Store in Los Angeles. This store was an outlet for literature published or promoted by the German American Bund.

ROBERT EDWARD EDMONDSON—a New York pamphleteer who specialized in anti-Semitism and pro-Nazi tales. During the 1930's Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia and a group of citizens sued Edmondson for libeling the Jews. After a long trial, the judge censored Edmondson for his activities, but ruled that a group cannot be libeled. A Nazi-sponsored anti-Semitic congress, then underway in Europe, sent congratulations to Edmondson for winning his case.

ELLIS O. JONES—ran a Lindbergh-inspired organization, the National Copperheads. In this venture, he was assisted by Robert Noble, another of the defendants. Jones, in turn, worked with Noble in the latter's organization, Friends of Progress. These two, at the time of Pearl Harbor, were staging a mock impeachment trial of President Roosevelt. The trial continued after Pearl Harbor, and the two found Roosevelt "guilty." It was during the battle for Bataan that Noble shouted: "To hell with McArthur!" Noble and Jones were convicted and sentenced to jail, under a California law calling for the registration of leaders of subversive organizations.

WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY—the goateed *fuehrer* who, prior to the opening of the Washington sedition trial, already had been sentenced to fifteen years in prison for sedition. Pelley claims that he once died and spent several minutes in heaven. After he returned to life, he says, he merely took God's dictation on his typewriter. Pelley declared he would be America's Hitler and organized the Silver Shirts to facilitate his rise to power.

HERMAN SCHWINN—was the West Coast leader of the German

American Bund. He ran the *Deutsches Haus* in Los Angeles, organized heel-clicking, uniformed storm troopers.

EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE—discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

JAMES TRUE—editor of *Industrial Control Reports*. True early operated out of Washington, D. C., and later from Alexandria, Virginia. He invented and patented the "Kike-Killer," a weapon resembling a policeman's billy and especially designed for killing Jews. The Kike-Killer came in two sizes—the small one for ladies. True, because of serious illness, was severed from the sedition trial before Judge Eicher's death.

F. K. FERENZ—was the distributor for Nazi films on the West Coast. Ferenz also worked closely with the America First Committee. He was particularly active in helping to organize an A.F.C. rally addressed by Senator Burton K. Wheeler.

LESLIE FRY—leader of the Militant Christian Patriots which had as its organ the *Christian Free Press*. Mrs. Fry, through her right-hand man, Conrad Chapman, boasted of having contacts in Dr. Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. Mrs. Fry fled from the United States while she was being hunted by the Dies Committee. Later she sneaked back into this country on the Drottningholm, but was apprehended and interned as a dangerous enemy alien.

GARLAND ALDERMAN and PARKER SAGE—discussed earlier in this chapter along with William Robert Lyman.

LAWRENCE DENNIS—the nation's leading ideological Fascist. Dennis wrote the books, *Dynamics of War and Revolution* and *The Coming American Fascism*. He theorized that "the people" have no intelligence anyway; therefore democracy is an absurdity. Dennis' friends ranged from the blood-thirsty Joe McWilliams to Senators Wheeler and Nye. The Army Exclusion Board wanted Dennis removed from the Eastern defense area, but Wheeler and Nye intervened in his behalf.

ERNEST F. ELMHURST—who felt that Hitler, in getting rid of the Jews, had hit upon a solution to the world's problems. Elmhurst

during the 1930's attended the Nazi-sponsored anti-Semitic convention which sent congratulations to Robert Edward Edmondson for "winning" his fight against LaGuardia.

AUGUST KLAPPROTT—editor of the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, official organ of the German American Bund.

GERHARDT WILHELM KUNZE—prominent member of the German American Bund.

JOSEPH E. McWILLIAMS—a Texas boy turned anti-Semite who ran the Christian Mobilizers, a New York branch of the Coughlin movement. As a street corner rabble-rouser, McWilliams yelled for Jewish blood and praised Adolf Hitler. Recently McWilliams, using Jack Williams as an alias, has been soliciting funds for Robert Rice Reynolds' Nationalist Party.

PETER STAHRNBERG—New York Hitler-heiler who was associated with the American National Labor Party and the Nationalist Press Association. The former was an offshoot of the German American Bund; the latter used the swastika as its emblem.

HUDSON DE PRIEST—worked for William Griffin's New York *Enquirer*. On the side he ran contests for Gerald Winrod's *Defender*.

There you have the record . . . of the big frogs in little puddles. Each working, sometimes alone, sometimes with others, to put across ideas harmful to the welfare of all of us. Individually they are not important. Collectively they are dangerous. "They" will always be with us. Take one or two away, others will come to the surface . . . spawned in hate. The really big frogs in BIG puddles use them as long as they are valuable. That's the way the skilled propagandists plan their job. But should even the little frogs be protected by secrecy?

8

Horse and Buggy Crystal Gazers

There was a good deal of excitement in the New York offices of the *Hour* on July 24, 1941. The editors of the publication were trying frantically to get Cedar Rapids, Iowa, on the telephone.

Verne Marshall, rumor had it, had "mysteriously disappeared," and according to one rumor he had been confined to an institution.

If this were true, it would be big news in "prepare for defense" circles to which the *Hour* belonged. Marshall had made a big splash with his No Foreign War Committee just a few months earlier, but his open friendliness with the pro-Fascist elements had blasted him out of the isolationist field. Left stranded by "respectables" like Charles Lindbergh and O. K. Armstrong, there was nothing for Marshall to do but go back to his newspaper, the Cedar Rapids *Gazette*.

Editors of the *Hour* called the *Gazette*. They were told that Marshall no longer had any connection with the paper and it was hinted that "dire circumstances" had overtaken the Iowa publisher. The *Hour* then

called Mr. Marshall's residence, and the following conversation took place:

"Q. Could you tell me where I can locate Mr. Marshall?

"A: I'm sorry, I can't tell you where Mr. Marshall is at present.

"Q: Is it possible for me to reach him by long distance telephone?

"A: I'm sorry but it isn't.

"Q: But why not? I just wish to speak with him for a few minutes.

"A: His doctor has given instructions that he's not to be disturbed. He's away for a rest.

"Q: Perhaps you can give me the name of the institution where he's confined?

"A: (after a pause): Who told you he has been confined to an institution?

"Q: I understood that from my conversation with the *Gazette*.

"A: Well, I'm not saying yes or no. I am not giving out any information."

This incident marked the end of a long and exciting trail for those who had followed the career of Verne Marshall. Back in 1936 Marshall had won the Pulitzer Prize for crusading journalism, but by 1939 he had turned his enthusiasm toward less than humanitarian crusades. That year he was opposing admission of refugee children to the United States, and by 1940 he was saying: "I don't care who wins the war. If Hitler comes to the U. S. A., I'll get myself back to Iowa, get a piece of land and stay there."

It was in June, 1940, that Marshall received an invitation from our old friends George Eggleston and Douglas Stewart of *Scribner's Commentator*. Merwin K. Hart, the Franco propagandist, was giving a dinner on June 10, and the guest list included Eggleston, Stewart, Charles Payson (also of *Scribner's*), Mar-

shall, O. K. Armstrong, and Charles A. Lindbergh. At this dinner plans were discussed for a "militant" isolationist organization. Lindbergh personally is supposed to have selected Marshall to head the group.

The No Foreign War Committee, it was to be called, and Marshall got busy. He was joined by O. K. Armstrong, author, dabbler in politics, and American Legionnaire. Marshall was to be chairman of the Committee, and Armstrong the director of organization. Marshall headed for New York to get the organization rolling, and Armstrong went to work "directing" from the public relations office of Henry Ford.

Marshall had a flair for publicity. Since his newspaper in Cedar Rapids subscribed to the principal news agencies, he had an "in" with the newspaper boys. He made the rounds of the news services and newspapers, stating his plans. Then he called a press conference. The scheme was a smart one, and the No Foreign War Committee was launched amid lots of newspaper stories. But even then there was a sour note. Marshall had a rather high temper. At the outset he had a quarrel with a large news service which failed to send a photographer to the press conference.

All went well for a while. The Committee took offices at the Hotel Lexington, N. Y. where its monthly rental was \$1250. About \$70,000 was spent on newspaper advertisements. Marshall had a theory on advertising. He planned to "snowball" it. Each ad asked for contributions which were to pay for the next ad. *Scribner's Commentator* modestly claimed that it had

no connection with the new Committee, but Edward Majeski, an editor of *Scribner's*, spent considerable time in the No Foreign War offices. And the *Scribner's* article, "The William Allen White Reign of Terror," which discussed the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, was reprinted and widely distributed by Marshall's Committee.

Money seemed to be pouring in from somewhere. William Rhodes Davis, who arranged to barter Mexican oil for German machines to save his \$11,000,000 investment, was one of the sponsors of the group. No Foreign War workers claimed that letters were rolling in to the tune of 10,000 a day—each letter containing a contribution of ten cents or more.

Meanwhile Marshall took to dramatics. He said that "mysterious enemies" were threatening his life. He took out extra insurance on himself and his family. He talked about "secret documents" which would show up the "conspirators."

Then Marshall began to get a bad press. The German shortwave radio mentioned him as useful to the Nazi cause. There were speculations about William Rhodes Davis' connection with the Committee. It seemed a little funny that Marshall, who would feel safe in Iowa even if Hitler came to the United States, should be so upset about "mysterious enemies" who already were here. Mass support for No Foreign War obviously was coming from pro-Nazi German Americans, pro-Fascist Italian Americans, and Christian Fronters.

O. K. Armstrong, the director of organization, began to get fidgety. "Our publicity has been terrible, terrible," he said. "I don't know what we can do about it. This committee is my baby. I started it. Now Marshall's got us tied up with this Davis and his Nazi connections." Armstrong admitted that German American Bund support was hurting the Committee. "We've got to do something," he said. "I don't know what we can do—we'll have to see if this thing has torpedoed us."

It was on January 12, 1941, that Marshall staged his famous rally at Lost Battalion Hall, Queens. Lindbergh, allegedly, was supposed to have addressed this meeting, but he pulled out because of the obviously Christian Front flavor. But Marshall was there. So was the handsome Fascist, Joe McWilliams. Notorious Coughlinites, like Robert Harriss, Judge Herbert O'Brien, and the Rev. Jerome P. Holland, addressed the meeting. When "God Bless America" was mentioned, the audience howled: "We don't want to sing that Jew song!"

The papers denounced the meeting, and the "respectables" began pulling out of "No Foreign War."

Four days later, on January 16, 1941, Lindbergh announced that he had no connection with the Verne Marshall Committee. Marshall countered by saying that Lindbergh had picked him for the job, and added: "The Colonel says now that I go too fast for him." At about the same time, Armstrong resigned from Marshall's Committee and announced that he was set-

ting up a new organization, the People's Campaign Against War. Marshall received a defective subpoena to appear before the Washington Grand Jury investigating campaign expenditures. "On advice of counsel," Marshall did not answer it.

Things did not go so well for the No Foreign War Committee after that. Several "reorganizations" took place in the Committee offices, but life just couldn't be reinjected into the Marshall group. Lindbergh, who had gone over to the America First Committee, still was the Bund and Christian Front hero. Those elements had followed the aviation ace into the A.F.C. In the spring of 1941 Marshall, discouraged, closed his New York offices and went back to Iowa to clean type.

* * * *

While Marshall was making his splash in isolationist circles, things were cooking in the America First camp.

The name was in bad odor in liberal circles even then, for during the 1930's James True, the insolent inventor of the "Kike-Killer," had run an organization called America First, Inc. Besides, "America First" was a paraphrase of a slogan used by Fascists the world over. The German Nazis muttered "Germany First;" the British Union of Fascists used the slogan, "Britain First;" the French Fascists screamed "France First," and so on. "I shall think only of my country; let the rest of the world take the hindmost," was and is the attitude of all "nationalists." These people, the crystal gazers of the horse and buggy days, still had not learned that the good of any country is inextricably intertwined

with the well being of the rest of the world. These were the crystal gazers, looking backward, who closed their eyes to the danger of a world conquest by fanatical breeders of hate. These were the people who organized to fight against every "preparedness" measure.

Anyhow Douglas Stuart, Jr. (no family connection with Douglas Stewart of *Scribner's Commentator*) was a student at Yale when the Nazis declared war on Poland and the Allies pitched in on Poland's side. Young Stuart, thinking that this wasn't "our war," decided to do something about it. As the son of the first vice-president of Quaker Oats, Stuart had good contacts. He went to Chicago where he sold the idea of the America First Committee to General Robert E. Wood, head of Sears-Roebuck. Later Mrs. Burton Wheeler claimed credit for swinging the deal. With Wood's help, he picked up a string of other isolationists—ranging from liberals to reactionaries—and got his Committee under way. With the help of an advertising agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, Stuart put a full page advertisement for the A. F. C. in the *New York Times*. That was in October, 1940. Colonel Charles Lindbergh saw the ad, was impressed, and went calling on Douglas Stuart, Jr.

In those days, Stuart says, he turned down support from persons whose motives he suspected. The A. F. C. founder considered himself a liberal, rather than a conservative, and he planned to vote for Roosevelt because the Republicans were "interventionists" too. On the other hand, Stuart believed implicitly in the

"sincerity" of Colonel Lindbergh. In October, 1940, Stuart also believed in the "sincerity" of Henry Ford, who, with Stuart and others, had signed the A. F. C. advertisement. Something must have happened to Ford within the next two months, however, for the auto magnate ceased to be a member of the A.F.C. in December. It was not revealed whether Ford dropped the Committee or vice versa.

That is the story of the 100 percent American origin of the America First Committee.

As 1941 rolled around, and as the year wore on, things began to change. Less and less was heard from Douglas Stuart, Jr., and more and more was heard from Lindbergh and isolationist Senators like Burton K. Wheeler and Gerald P. Nye. With the collapse of the No Foreign War Committee, the Coughlinite and Bund elements poured into the A. F. C. Mailing lists were compiled for the Committee by the Viereck-financed George Hill. Senators and Congressmen, who were tied up with the Viereck-Hill-Ham Fish franking scandal, turned over their franked envelopes en masse so that the Committee might save on postage. Out in Los Angeles, F. K. Ferenz, the Nazi motion picture distributor, helped to organize Committee meetings and went to the railroad station to welcome visiting America Firsters. Coughlinite Christian Front units virtually closed up shop so that they might devote their whole effort to the America First Committee. German agents, officials of the German American Board of Trade, and Steuben Society members took box seats

at America First meetings. Laura Ingalls, who later was convicted as an unregistered Nazi agent, spoke at A. F. C. meetings, and, as we observed in Chapter Six, *Scribner's Commentator* went all out to build America First membership.

In considering the America First Committee, there are a few important points to be remembered. There is every reason to believe that it was American in conception. *But*: there were certain German workers in this country—such as Ernst Schmitz of the German Railway, Dr. Degener of the German American Board of Trade, Von Gienanth in the German Embassy, and G. F. Hansen-Sturm of the Romanoff Caviar Co.—who were instructed to keep a sharp lookout for American organizations aimed at keeping this country unprepared. The minute these dissenting organizations started, or became prominent, the Germans were instructed to back them. Sometimes this was done more or less openly. Hansen-Sturm admitted giving \$2,250 to the A. F. C. Sometimes it was done more subtly. To cite one example:

Count Von Wrangell, who appeared before the Washington Grand Jury late in 1943, used to work for the America First Committee. I have proof that Von Wrangell's salary was paid at least part of the time by a German agent. Von Wrangell was employed as a speaker by the New York A. F. C. After a time it was decided that the Committee could no longer afford to his salary. A German agent, interested in keeping Wrangell on the payroll, went to the New York

A. F. C. and agreed to donate the amount of money necessary to pay Von Wrangell. It was definitely understood that this "donation" was to keep Von Wrangell on the payroll. It was also definitely understood that the salary was not to appear as paid by this German agent. The official of America First who made this agreement knew that the person paying Von Wrangell was receiving German money, but pocketed the cash and continued to hire Von Wrangell anyway.

By the summer of 1941 the same fingers that had pointed accusingly at Verne Marshall's No Foreign War Committee were wagging persistently in the faces of the A. F. C. The Committee may have begun "respectably," but by this time, as someone put it, the tail was wagging the dog. Big shots, who moved out of No Foreign War because of its Coughlinite and Bundist flavor, winked happily now at the Coughlinites and Bundists in A. F. C. ranks. Mrs. Burton K. Wheeler and General Wood himself felt called upon to assure the Christian Fronters that they were welcome in America First circles. ". . . there never has been any discrimination against Father Coughlin's followers . . . as far as America First is concerned," Mrs. Wheeler wrote. And General Wood added: "I have not rejected the Christian Social Justice movement. I welcome their support in our common objective . . ."

When Lindbergh came out in September, 1941, with the Nazi canard that the British, the Jews, and the Roosevelt administration were dragging America into war, the A. F. C. was long gone on the No Foreign

War path. After that, and until Pearl Harbor, the Coughlinite and Bundist elements enjoyed a hey-day in America First circles.

* * * *

This brief outline of the No Foreign War Committee and its successor, the America First Committee, only scratches the surface. Briefly here has been sketched what I, as a businessman interested in the welfare of my country, found out. I knew that German elements were supporting the No Foreign War Committee, and I, on my own hook, found out that at least some Nazi money was finding its way into America First Committee coffers. The Grand Jurors in Washington must have learned much more. Both Committees were listed in the first two sedition indictments as organizations through which the alleged seditionists worked. Both were dropped from the third indictment. Again, I want to know, why?

If the first two sedition indictments had been acted upon promptly, as William Power Maloney planned, the whole story of America First and No Foreign War would have been spread out before the American public: just how much German support these groups received; just how they worked with the native Fascist elements; just how Congressmen like Burton K. Wheeler, Gerald P. Nye, Rush Holt, Stephen Day, Hamilton Fish and the rest aided and abetted the movement, and how they, at the expense of the American taxpayer, furnished their franked envelopes to save the movement postage.

The first two indictments, of course, were not acted upon. And someone (could it have been Congressmen, or Lindbergh, or Ford, or all of them?) high-pressured the Department of Justice into forgetting all about them in the third sedition indictment. Did the big shots fear a complete exposé of the financial support given the two committees? Morris Ernst, in his recent book, *The Best Is Yet*, describes the nagging Verne Marshall took about who put up the money for his Committee. At meeting after meeting, Ernst's friends would stand up and ask Marshall where his money was coming from. That question was never satisfactorily answered, although a variety of different stories were told. The A. F. C. made public a partial list of its contributors, but I did not see "my German agent" lurking anywhere on the list. Were more German agents pouring money into the Committee? Maybe the Grand Jurors know.

It seems to me that any investigation of the Pearl Harbor disaster should go back much farther than December 7, 1941. The Japs were getting ready long before that date, and those who were fighting to keep us unprepared began long before that too. Some truly shocking revelations lie buried in the files of the Washington Grand Jury. The Pearl Harbor investigators might do well to dig it out. America First Congressmen like Nye, Fish, Wheeler, Rush Holt, and Stephen Day might furnish some interesting information themselves.

So many of our sentences—so many thoughts—begin with the word “if”. . . . *If*, I keep thinking, Maloney had remained as prosecutor, *if* the Department of Justice had prosecuted promptly on the basis of the first two sedition indictments, *if* the story the Grand Jury knows had been spread before the American people, the whole picture of American life right now might be different.

For one thing, *if* all these things had come to pass, the horse and buggy visioned “nationalists” in America might now be a pre-war oddity, a relic of bygone days which we could view with curiosity and some amusement. But these things did not come to pass, and the “nationalists” are very much with us.

There is still Robert Rice Reynolds, the ex-Senator from North Carolina. Reynolds has been organizing the Nationalist party. He planned to run candidates for Congress in 1946 and one for President of the United States in 1948.

Reynolds’ organizing system is reminiscent of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, who asked the Christian Fronters to form “platoons” of twenty-five. Reynolds told the “nationalists” to form “cells” of ten each. His organization extended into all forty-eight states, the ex-Senator says, and by the summer of 1945 the Nationalist Party boasted of 1,000,000 members.

Reynolds’ record is not an enviable one. Before Pearl Harbor his newspaper, the *American Vindicator*, was peddled at meetings of the German American Bund and the Christian Front. In those days he thought we should not go to war to save “minorities.” He argued

that there was virtue in Nazism and Fascism, for, after all, Hitler and Mussolini had solved their unemployment problems, hadn't they? Before the Japanese bombed us, he sounded like Tojo's Ministry of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment. He insisted that the *United States* had declared war on poor little innocent Japan by extending a loan to China.

Reynolds' association with persons charged with sedition are numerous. He inserted in the *Congressional Record* a speech by Gerald Winrod, who three times was indicted for alleged sedition. He praised the "wonderful patriotism" of Elizabeth Dilling, who was included in all three indictments along with Winrod. He inserted in the *Congressional Record* an anti-Semitic, anti-alien article from Domenico Trombetta's *Il Grido della Stirpe*. Trombetta was denaturalized and indicted as an unregistered foreign agent.

If it ever occurred to Reynolds that he might have been wrong or that his associates might be unsavory, he has made no public statements to that effect. Instead, he congratulated himself on his own good judgment by saying he's "1,000 times more isolationist" now than he was before Pearl Harbor.

The ex-Senator hit the headlines last summer when it was discovered that he had employed Joe McWilliams, the alleged seditionist, as a fund raiser for the Nationalist Party. McWilliams, in the old days, was one of the most fervent Coughlinite leaders. He used to hang out with Fritz Kuhn, *fuehrer* of the German

American Bund, and yell from New York street corners: "I'm one hundred percent for Hitler!"

McWilliams, using the alias Jack Williams, worked Boston and Cleveland in Reynolds' behalf. In both places he sought to raise money from industrialists, who endured a sales talk like this: "The Nationalists expect to get into office and help industry. They would do away with all business regulations, lower taxes, and make unions incorporate. The Nationalists would put an end to the Communists and the foreigners in this country."

Meanwhile the "nationalist cells" are getting started all over the country. In New York, at their first fall meeting, the Nationalists listened to Eugene Nelson Sanctuary, the alleged seditionist.

But all isn't rosy with Reynolds. Indications are that his Nationalist Party is going through a difficult period. The ex-Senator this fall (1945) announced suspension of his newspaper, the *National Record*. A group of Reynolds' fund raisers have been fired, and some of his Nationalist Party henchmen have resigned. Stories have it that the Party is folding, but Reynolds denies it. Whether the Party can be revived or not, Reynolds and following can be counted upon to be active in the postwar nationalist picture, for Reynolds has connections.

Working hand in glove with Robert Rice Reynolds, but operating under the name, America First Party, is Gerald L. K. Smith, the Detroit rabble-rouser.

Smith got his start in the pro-Fascist movement in the early 1930's when he and William Dudley Pelley were working to organize the Silver Shirts. Pelley much later was sentenced to fifteen years in jail after being convicted of sedition. Smith joined Huey Long, made friends with the Ku Kluxer Eugene Talmadge, was kicked out of the Townsend movement for being a "Fascist," and spent the war years grinding out isolationist, anti-Semitic, and hate-our-Allies propaganda.

Currently the Detroit rabble-rouser is one of the big-time "nationalist" leaders. He runs the America First Party, the Nationalist News Service, and the National Emergency Committee. He edits a magazine, the *Cross and the Flag*, and he holds mass meetings indefatigably.

Smith's America First Party probably will merge its strength with Reynolds' Nationalist Party (or whatever group the ex-Senator heads), for Smith can't get over boasting about his cooperation with the ex-Senator. Smith invited Reynolds to run for President in 1944 on the America First Party ticket. Reynolds replied that he was "flattered and honored," but he had other business at hand. As late as September, 1945, Smith was in Washington conferring with Reynolds and "other nationalist leaders."

In organizing the National Emergency Committee, Smith really used ingenuity. On the advisory board he listed fifty of the small time pro-Fascist leaders—ranging from the allegedly seditious Elizabeth Dilling to anti-Semitic utilities official, Carl Mote. Mothers'

groups, farmers' groups, straight anti-Semites, Coughlinites—just about everybody—are represented. Smith has come close to bringing about a merger of all the pro-Fascist elements in the country. He isn't quarreling with anyone these days; he's enlisting aid from all quarters. And, like Father Coughlin, he's even marrying the Coughlinites with the anti-Catholics.

Smith's Nationalist News Service is doing a lot to solidify the pro-Fascist movement too. N. N. S., Smith hopes, eventually will rival the Associated Press and United Press as a news-gathering agency. His service gives the news from the "nationalist" slant and, he claims, more than 100 papers already are using it.

Right now Smith is going full steam ahead on his "nationalist" plans. He has been in Washington recently to confer with Congressman John Rankin. Smith is still looking for "Reds" in Hollywood. Smith claims that Senator Wheeler can be depended upon to introduce "nationalist" legislation into Congress, and the Detroit rabble-rouser is busy trying to help stage a come-back for ex-Senator Nye and ex-Congressman Hamilton Fish. Furthermore, Smith says he cooperates with "several Congressmen who are nationalists at heart."

There is no doubt that both Reynolds and Smith are knocking on the doors of Congress. And, with their background and connections, they may get in.

If Maloney had stayed on as prosecutor, *if* the first two sedition indictments had been acted upon promptly, *if* the American people knew the whole story of the

foreign inspiration and backing of the "nationalists," all this might not have come about. But it did.

* * * *

These horse and buggy crystal gazers, those who would look forward by looking backward, aren't confined to the "nationalists."

In this report, we have not attempted to analyze or describe the helpful cooperation of the so-called newspaper axis . . . the *Chicago Tribune*, the *New York Daily News* and the *Washington Times Herald*. To cover adequately the confused chain of "coincidences" whereby the news in those papers reflects the thinking of the vermin press or vice versa, would require another book as large as this. Suffice it to say that before the war, during the war, and after the war, this newspaper hierarchy has supported and even led the crystal gazers. Why?

There is also the Committee for Constitutional Government, which feels that our recent Constitutional Amendment, the one providing for the income tax, isn't quite Constitutional somehow. It isn't quite sold on the precept of taxing in accordance with ability to pay. The Committee is working on another amendment which would be a blessing to the rich and a curse to the poor. "The good old days" are the times the Committee is hankering for.

The Committee for Constitutional Government operates on a "respectable" basis. Spark-plugged by Frank Gannett, a staunch Republican who runs a string of upstate New York newspapers, it looks like a solid American venture. But a glance behind the scenes is

somehow frightening. Edward A. Rumely, a high official in the Committee, was convicted as an agent of imperial Germany after the last war, although the ubiquitous Henry Ford testified in Rumely's behalf and Calvin Coolidge later pardoned him. John Roy Carlson revealed in *Under Cover* that the Committee cooperated with Father Coughlin as late as 1937, that the pro-Franco Merwin K. Hart, the Red-baiting Joe Kamp, and the spinster "mother," Cathrine Curtis, have cooperated with the Committee. Rumely, too, refused to turn over his records to the Congressional Committee investigating campaign expenditures. Just who pays the C. C. G.'s bills is a secret. But it is no secret that the Committee poured out thousands of disruptionist pamphlets all during the war. From all appearances, this campaign is to be carried into the postwar world.

The Steuben Society could scarcely be called "forward-looking" either. This group was formed after World War I to protest against the "harsh" Versailles Treaty. Now it fears that the Potsdam agreements are likely to be "infinitely worse." Perhaps the group has merely progressed backward during these years.

Theodore Hoffman, National Chairman of the Society, made a trip to Germany in 1934. When he returned he had this to say: "My personal impressions were that Hitler is an idealist, an unusual organizer and a man of tremendous energy. It is my conviction that he is honest and sincere in his endeavors not only to unite the German people, but also in his determina-

tion to break the chains of slavery which have kept the German people fettered hand and foot for fifteen years."

Later the Steuben Society was a little too high-hat to deal with the German American Bund, but high-toned or not it did its best to keep the German people "unfettered"—especially by America. Piously it distributed the speeches of isolationist Congressmen and Senators; it felt strongly that the Axis was no threat to us.

Members of the Steuben Society were called to testify before the Washington Grand Jury. What the jurors learned is still a secret. No one seems to know anything about the finances of the Society. We just know that the Steubenites have been free all along to grind out their propaganda. And right now it is begging for the "punishment" of French soldiers from Africa who are alleged to have raped German girls—even though the Army officially has denied this rape story. At the same time it argues that the butchering of American fliers by German mobs is understandable and excusable—that, under the circumstances, the butchers should not be sentenced to death.

It's about time, it seems to me, that the "secrets" of the Committee for Constitutional Government and the Steuben Society stop being secrets. If their finances and connections were thoroughly exposed some big toes might be stepped on, for isolationist big shots have been quite friendly with these two groups. Big toes or no, the American people should be informed about who is footing the bills for these disruptionist groups.

9

Knocks on the Gates of the Mighty

"Senator, would you allow the girls in your office to show their wastebaskets to me?"

That's how I opened the conversation with a certain legislator in Washington.

"Why in the world, Henry, do you want to see our wastebaskets?"

I told him that I was making a study of subversive literature reaching Congressional offices.

"I don't believe we get in any more stuff like that," said the Senator, "I've seen some in the past, but not any lately."

"You are getting it," I interrupted, "because I have already talked to the girls in the office. Hope you don't mind."

He called in several of his secretaries and asked if any suspicious looking mail was being received. They assured him that there was plenty of it . . . but they weren't bothering him any more . . . just throwing it in the wastebasket.

The Senator issued instruction to have all such mail in the future turned over to Henry Hoke.

I made similar arrangements with seven other members of the Senate and the House. Some were Republicans and some Democrats. Several, when they learned the purpose, even offered to let me see their personal letters. So for several months during the summer of 1945 I have been reading the cast-off mail received by representative members of Congress. Since most of them get the same material . . . we can presume that most of the members of Congress are receiving similar pieces and letters.

The girls in the offices soon learned to spot the type of material I wanted to read . . . so instead of looking through the wastebaskets, the material was carefully saved for me. Every week or so I would stop around and gather it . . . staggering back to the Raleigh Hotel loaded down. I've ruined several suitcases transferring the heavy weight of specimens back to New York.

It has been an interesting experience . . . seeing what Senators and Congressmen are supposed to read. It's true that some of the secretaries threw the outrageous material away, wanting to protect the time, tempers and energies of their bosses. But in too many cases the members of Congress have read this propaganda. Some of it later on becomes voluble in speeches made on the floor of the House or the Senate . . . particularly by the rabble-rousers.

The flood of mail into Congressional offices is terrific. In some ways it is terrifying. No wonder Congressmen look so befuddled at times.

I've gone through, checking and classifying, the mass

of material so far collected. It leaves me bewildered, too.

Most prominent in all Congressmen's mail . . . is the *Cross and the Flag*, the monthly poison edited by Gerald L. K. Smith. Recent issues have featured the objections to peacetime military training by Senator Taft; doubts are expressed about Roosevelt's actual death; there is consistent plugging of "Bob" Reynolds.

The American Coalition seems to be very active in giving the Senators all the arguments against the Peace Charter and Bretton Woods. Merwin K. Hart's *Economic Council Letter* reaches Congressional offices with efficient regularity. In recent issues, there was included a special pamphlet *You Better Know About Bretton Woods*. It was written by John T. Flynn, the pastmaster of the New York America First Committee who has been touring the country preaching against this or that, or whatever it was that the government happened to be interested in at Flynn's particular moment of concern.

Flynn's pamphlet, "The Final Secret of Pearl Harbor" is also going the rounds. It rang the bell with the American Coalition. This piece, which blames Pearl Harbor on Roosevelt, is being distributed by the Coalition in quantity lots. It's a curious jumble of half-truths, generalities and outright distortions which, sad to report, have been picked up and rebroadcast by no less than *Life* Magazine. The Flynn booklet wouldn't be so devastating if it were possible to have printed on the cover a complete history of John T. Flynn's connection with the obstructionist pre-war

American First Committee. Elizabeth Dilling, one of the defendants in the sedition trial, is distributing (selling) the Flynn pamphlet too. The price is 25 cents each—single copies free to those who subscribe for four months to Dilling's Patriotic Research Bureau *Round Table Letter*.

Our old friend the *Malist* appears regularly. That is the Father Coughlin-worshipping sheet edited and published by F. H. Sattler of Meriden, Connecticut.

Some of the girls in Congressional offices greeted me with wisecracks when I picked up the June-July 1945 issue of the *Malist* . . . for by this time they, too, were interested in reading some of the scurrilous material. The June-July issue of the *Malist* devoted about three pages to an attack on Henry Hoke for his criticisms of Father Coughlin. "He is to be pitied for his ignorance . . . a man wrapped up in hate . . . making a fool of himself . . . lacking in decency . . . an illiterate . . . with a vocabulary too large for his bigoted, narrow-minded, hate-infected brain" . . . so raved the editor of the *Malist* about Hoke.

The legislators' mail is filled with letters and petitions from the "mothers."

Agnes Waters sends invitations to her "teas." But strangely enough the cards are postmarked three or four days after the tea actually occurred. Mrs. David Stanley of the United Mothers of America sends vituperative mimeographed letters and petitions against the United Nations Charter and Bretton Woods. The Christian Mothers of America protest against peacetime military training. Mrs. James McGuire of

Chicago sends resolutions adopted by the Women's League for Political Education, against the Charter.

The Friends of the Constitution from Dayton, Ohio, send dire warnings against international action to preserve peace. Secretary Bertha Glebe blames this "New World Order" on the international bankers and the Jews. Telegrams arrive from a women's group in Brandford, Connecticut, stating that "England's election makes Charter ratification unconstitutional." Deep thinking there! Some of the women include with their petitions, resolutions or letters, isolationist material from the Citizens U.S.A. Committee of 82 W. Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois. And, of course, "We, the Mothers" flood the Congressional wastebaskets with copies of *Women's Voice* . . . violently anti-administration, anti-Semitic, anti-world cooperation, anti-war effort and anti-everything. A smart trick was pulled by "We, the Mothers" during the Congressional recess. Very thoughtfully, Mrs. Van Hyning and her office staff changed their mailing list temporarily and sent the current copies to the Congressman's home address.

The crackpot mail received by the average Congressman is amazing and, depending on which way you look at it, sometimes pathetic. Private individuals seemingly unconnected with any mass propaganda effort, go to the expense of having their writings printed in shoddy looking pamphlets or gaudy cards. During the Senate discussion of the United Nations Charter and Bretton Woods . . . tons of mail flooded into Congress, calling Bretton Woods "the mousetrap using money for cheese." There were violent letters against

France, China and Britain, ill-mannered postcards and letters insulting Congressmen for their haste. From Minneapolis; Park Ridge, Illinois; Corpus Christi, Texas; from the St. Moritz in New York; Roanoke, Virginia; Lynn, Massachusetts; Dayton, Ohio; etc., come the letters, mimeographed sheets, booklets, pamphlets, against world action for peace, military training, Bretton Woods and what have you.

One petition asked Congressmen to change the World Charter to a "Christian World Order." A vicious cartoon, dittoed and mailed anonymously from Chicago, shows Uncle Sam heading the World Police Headquarters in telephone conversation with Jewish caricatures who sit in telephone booths labeled Holland, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, France, Finland, Greece, etc. The closing caption for this demented work of art reads: "For God's Sake, Save the Youth of America By Rejecting This Jewish Peace Charter." Later we discovered that this piece was being produced and distributed by Homer Maertz' Pioneer News Service. The most violent mimeographed appeal was a four-page affair signed by a woman who called herself Alice Haydn Hession. To her, even General Eisenhower is a Jew. The whole world, the war, the singers and actors, the radio commentators, the government, the newspapers and even President Truman . . . are Jewish, or partly so. She says she speaks for God who "is love, not hate." But her own hate knows no bounds.

Someone from Riverside, California, sends to Senators by air mail mimeographed copies of a column "The Political Parade" by George Rothwell Brown.

For some strange reason, to this particular piece was attached, with a yellow ribbon, an actual peanut (shell and all). Brown's column was against Bretton Woods.

The American Nationalist Party of Denver, Colorado, sends printed post cards against peacetime training. A John J. Fleck in Philadelphia pleads for a republic instead of a democracy and warns that "the life of Bernard Baruch and his co-conspirators may not be worth much . . . when the American people wake up."

Of course there are violent attacks on Russia and Communism; the Southern States Industrial Council of Nashville, Tennessee wants to kill the FEPC, and prior to Japan's surrender there were thousands of pleas for a negotiated peace. One curious, complicated printed brochure attempted to fix the blame for the Lindbergh kidnapping on the Japanese rather than a German. One violent tirade told Congressmen that our demands for unconditional surrender were "whole-sale murder."

Many of the appeals are pathetic . . . even though some of them come from people who have been in times past to a greater or lesser degree connected with the planned propaganda campaign to keep this country unprepared.

There are appeals from Old Age Pension advocates. Some atheists send in mimeographed extracts from Robert G. Ingersoll's lectures. The Saxon Committee of Wisconsin wants to preserve the greatness of Leipzig. The Conscientious Objectors Association pleads for "sympathetic understanding." A John J. Reilly from

Philadelphia sends a snappy design protesting "The Partition of Ireland is as unnatural as a torn shamrock." The Theocrats have a plan for world unity. People send Congressmen reprints from the *Reader's Digest* with *The Road to Serfdom* by Friedrich A. Hayek. If any Congressman can understand the complicated symbols and descriptions contained in the material received from the National Interventionist Civil(ian) Klub, 15439 Prairie, Detroit 21, Michigan . . . it's beyond me. Sounds somewhat similar to the numerologist or pyramid reading theories propounded by the Anglo-Saxon Federation in *Destiny* magazine.

Amazingly, Congressmen are receiving the completely screwy material from George Frederick Gundelfinger, Ph.D. . . . the leader of the "so-called New Fraternity" of Sewickley, Pennsylvania. Gundelfinger claims it to be "Yale's most exclusive graduate organization." Technically, Gundelfinger's writings should be unmailable . . . since they are a combination of homosexuality; sexual sublimation (whatever that means); attacks against world security, unconditional surrender, Communists, or the government; and throughout . . . an intense hatred of "the demented and disabled Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

Senators and Congressmen alike have been receiving reprints from the *W. Lee O'Daniel News* . . . likewise petitions to intervene in the "frame-up" of Tyler Kent . . . a popular crusade of the current crop of nationalists.

Perhaps the most lurid appeals originate from David Darrin of the so-called United Nations of Earth Association who shouts "to hell with the Constitution," and

calls the United Nations Charter a "Charter McCarthy."

Even ex-Congressman George Holden Tinkham (who was in on the franking racket) felt called upon to send each Senator a 250-word night letter suggesting crippling amendments to the United Nations Charter.

And so it goes. The flood of mail. Attacks on world unity, on money stability. Attacks on the Jews, our allies, the government. Prior to the end of the war there were caustic attacks on the OPA, the OWI, the ODT. There were dire warnings that we would lose our democracy and our freedom if these regulations of the people were continued.

I've tried to give here a rapidly-moving picture of a Congressman's mail. Naturally there are releases, booklets and letters from people who are interested in world security, and who want to back up the government's wartime and reconversion effort. But I'm sorry to report that this type of material represents a very feeble minority. The crackpots and the disruptionists knock the loudest.

Fortunately many of the Senators and members of the House have become "fed up" with this flood of disruptive mail. Their secretaries no longer place it on the desk of the boss. It is in many cases assigned to the wastebasket. But unfortunately part of this flood of material furnishes the basis for arguments advanced on the floor of both the Senate and the House by members of Congress who have cooperated in the past and in the present with the disruptionist campaigns.

Many of the attacks made on OPA, WPB and OWI originated not in the minds of the Congressmen themselves . . . but in the definitely planned propaganda which flooded into Congressional offices. Some of the wild harangues by Clare Hoffman, John Rankin and William Langer originate in that way.

One of the most surprising pieces of mail discovered in the personal correspondence of a Senator was a letter from Kurt Mertig. This arrogant letter should be read in full. Copies of it were received by all members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee:

317 E. 54th St.
New York, N. Y.
June 24, 1945

Committee on Military Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

Attn.: Senator - - - - -

Gentlemen:—

During the past twelve years the Roosevelt administration has been instrumental in every conceivable way in furthering the cause of the foreign relatives and co-religionists of some four Million Jewish American citizens—giving them financial, political and economic succor, and, as an end product, has expended the lives and limbs of hundred of thousands of American soldiers besides the concomitant suffering of their American families.

What have we done in Europe since V-E Day to restore order and “make the world safe for the Four Freedoms”? — We act like the little boy who broke up a watch and then had not the faintest idea how to get it running again. We have not even made an attempt to restore postal, telegraph and

phone service, traffic or trade in defeated Germany—a very obvious prerequisite for reconstruction.— In short, we have so far made a terrible mess since V E Day! —

And voluble arguments by such “experts” as Henry Morgenthau, Bernard M. Baruch, and their stooges on U. S. government payroll, are being so persistently and so cunningly put forward over the radio—and in the editorial columns and the doctored “news” of the large Jewish controlled majority of American newspapers—that the control, by persons of German descent, of all German trade and industry must either be utterly destroyed, or turned over very “patriotically” to “American” capital.—

This policy of senseless and revengeful destruction neither represents American traditions nor serves the best interests of this Republic. It will only drag the white race down to its final doom!—

The many thousands of young American soldiers of German stock who served on the Westfront were told that only the Nazi regime was to be driven out; and that nothing was held against the German people — but many of these soldiers, whose final resting place has turned out to be a grave in the foreign soil of Europe, would turn in their graves, if they could see what right now is being done over there to German women and children, to the war maimed and the aged.—

There are, however, in the United States 25 to 30 Millions of American citizens of German descent, who, no less than those now dead and gone soldiers, are profoundly interested in the welfare of their relatives abroad, who, from hunger and disease are now suffering pains and anxieties utterly unknown in this country.—

This large German ancestry contingent of our American citizenry does not yield to any other nationality or race, making up the American Amalgam, any slightest admission that its loyalty to this Republic, and to its institutions, is in any degree less than that of anyone else.—

The American citizens of German stock do not intend to sit idly by to see millions of their kinfolk in Germany die a cruel death by starvation right now, or freeze to death during the coming winter.—

The very least they have a right to insist upon *right now* is that immediate measures be adopted by our American occupational forces:

- 1) to reinstate postal, telegraph and telephone service, transportation and marketing of food etc. supplies in our occupied zone of Germany;
- 2) to permit American citizens to use the mail for sending food packages, clothing and money to their suffering relatives in Germany;
- 3) to use our influence in the not yet operative Central Control Commission, in Berlin, to make such facilities also available for the parts of Germany occupied by the British, French and Russians.—

All self-respecting American citizens of German descent undoubtedly wish to serve notice on our present Administration that the German-American vote is going to make itself felt, in the coming elections, for the strengthening of the basic principles which all of us are proud to call *American*—the very opposite of the policy now being pursued.—

Respectfully submitted,

German-American Republican League
of Greater New York

/s/ KURT MERTIG

Kurt Mertig,
Acting Chairman

That letter made an impression on some of the Senators . . . until they were reminded of Kurt Mertig's history. Here was a former Nazi organizer, pleading for better treatment for Germany! Mertig partici-

pated in many Nazi rallies as far back as 1937. His Citizens' Protective League was a gathering place for native Fascists, Bundists, Christian Fronters and Christian Mobilizers. They met in the heart of Yorkville, New York.

Mertig was friendly, or acquainted, with such sterling pro-Fascist characters as Ernest F. Elmhurst, Colonel E. N. Sanctuary, Edward James Smythe, Maude DeLand, Horace Haase. At all Mertig meetings, propaganda was distributed. The material included such items as *Social Justice*, German Library of Information booklets, Court Asher's *X-Ray*, Garner's *Publicity*, leaflets by David Baxter, booklets by William Dudley Pelley and speeches by Congressman Clare Hoffman. Even though Mertig was commanded to move inland by the Army Exclusion Board, he ignored the order. Here he is again at war's end . . . free and unfettered . . . popping up to organize new pro-German groups . . . and to petition Congress for soft treatment of Germany.

The knocks on the gates of the mighty have been loud and many . . . and disgusting.

The aftermath, at times, has been discouraging.

Congressmen have been approached in person and by letter by Edward James Smythe, complaining about OWI and other branches of the government. Smythe was responsible for spreading the rumor that OWI was "Communist-and-Jewish controlled." He had the arrogance to write to Elmer Davis threatening a *Congressional investigation* of OWI, because of its "Communist-Jewish" control.

It is the Patriotic Duty of every Protestant Veteran to Join and Support this Organization Morally and Financially



ADDRESS
ALL COMMUNICATIONS
TO THE ORGANIZATION

OFFICE OF
CHAIRMAN
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Protestant War Veterans

OF THE
United States
INCORPORATED

YOUR REPLY REFER TO FILE #

UNDER AN ACT OF CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

For God, For Home and Country

1211 A CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

PROTESTANT WAR VETERANS MEMORIAL FUND
COMMITTEE FOR NATIONWIDE DAY OF PRAYER
COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE COMMUNISM AND
OTHER UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
PROTESTANT CHAPLAINS ASSOCIATION, INC.
LOYAL LEGION & COMMANDERY OF THE
PROTESTANT WAR VETERANS OF THE U. S.
PROTESTANT GOLD STAR MOTHERS
LADIES AUXILIARY OF THE PROTESTANT VETERANS
SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF PROTESTANT VETERANS
PROTESTANT LOYAL LEGION OF THE U. S.
PROTESTANT FIRE & DRUM CORPS OF THE U. S.
PROTESTANT CHURCH BOYS BRIGADE OF THE U. S.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS
"THE PROTESTANT CHAPLAIN"
"THE PROTESTANT VETERAN"

*"Honor Our Heroic Dead,
By Helping The Wounded"*

May 15th 1945.

Elmer Davis, Director.
Office Of War Information. DISTRICT 0827
Washington, D.C.

Dear Director Davis:-

It has been brought to our attention that your "Bureau" brought, or tried to bring pressure to bear upon Bishop Dun of the Washington Cathedral to stop him from allowing this Patriotic Veterans organization from selling their stamps (a sheet of which we enclose) at the Spring Festival held on the Cathedral grounds from May 10th to May 13th.

For your information we likewise learn through friends that your "Bureau" has stopped this organization from receiving pictures from the War and Navy Departments and other Governments such pictures for publication in "The Protestant Veteran". This is nothing short than a CAMPAIGN OF PERSECUTION against PROTESTANT VETERANS, and this organization will take advantage of this PERSECUTION in a campaign of press and radio publicity against the communists RATS in your department.

We have already taken this matter up with several Senators and Congressmen as well as the Publisher of one of Washington's largest newspapers, for we feel you have gone far afield in tampering with the Patriotic activities of this organization. You have given us a solid foundation to fight back at the communistic element still in KEY POSTS of this Government and we will not stop until we secure a Congressional investigation of not only your "BUREAU" but every bureau of the old and DECAYED Roosevelt Government.

We not only enclose a sheet of our Patriotic Stamps but a application blank if you can find anything wrong with it, we will be glad to have you inform us.

Cordially.

Edward James Smythe.

EJS/M.

A Protestant Patriotic Veterans Organization Of, For and By Protestant Patriotic American Veterans
Make all checks and money orders payable to Protestant War Veterans

After receipt of above letter, Davis staged full scale investigation. OWI had not been involved. Better Business Bureau had warned the Cathedral. Davis' assistant replied, "Charges unjustified."

KNOCKS ON THE GATES OF THE MIGHTY 241

It is the Patriotic Duty of every Protestant Veteran to Join and Support this Organization Morally and Financially



Protestant War Veterans

OF THE
United States
INCORPORATED

YOUR REPLY REFER TO FILE NO.

UNDER AN ACT OF CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

For God, For Home and Country

1211-A CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

"Honor Our Heroic Dead,

By Helping The Wounded"

June Fourth 1945.

Julian L. Woodward.
Assistant to the Director.
Office of War Information.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr Woodward;-

Your letter of May 23rd is before me and I hasten to reply, excuse me for being so tardy in answering, but the fact is I have been in the middle west, and just got back.

While we all believe here that Director Davis and you no doubt are unaware of the facts involved in this complaint yet you would not call the Bishop of Washington, D.C. a liar, and it was from that very source that we learned that the office of OWI was used (perhaps illegally) to have this Patriotic organization ousted from the Washington Cathedral Spring Festival, which ran from May 10th to May 13th.

We have every reason to believe that New York Jew communists did use the name of your organization to put the heat on the officials at the Cathedral, for we got this direct from the editor of the *Evening Star* who happened to be chairman of the committee who had charge of our exhibit, and I feel that you owe it to the American people not to white-wash this charge but to sift those guilty and remove them.

Sincerely Yours.

Edward James Smythe
Edward James. Smythe.
Chairman

EJS/M.

A Protestant Patriotic Veterans Organization Of, For and By Protestant Patriotic American Veterans
Make all checks and money orders payable to Protestant War Veterans

Smythe's charges and assertions are characteristically inaccurate. It wasn't the editor or publisher of the *Washington Star* who contacted Smythe. It was James Waldo Fawcett, the stamp columnist.

What happened as an aftermath of the Smythe correspondence?

Westbrook Pegler, on June 22, 1945, released through his syndicate a column headed "OWI Propaganda Consistently Red." Pegler mimicked the untruthful material peddled not only by Edward James Smythe but also by Joe Kamp.

This tirade by vinegar-minded Pegler hit an all-time low in plain, unadulterated bunk. It was an insult to all the advertisers who purchased space in the papers in which Pegler's column appeared. Because practically every advertiser, at one time or another during the war, supported one or more of the OWI programs.

This reporter was fairly active in OWI affairs, as voluntary advisor on mailing and printing problems. If Westbrook Pegler could find Communist leanings in the OWI programs or people he is more of a sleuth than I am.

Who are these Communists he talked about so mysteriously in his column? What OWI propaganda campaigns were consistently Red? Did Westbrook Pegler mean War Bond Drives directed by a former active member of the Pacific Advertising Club? Did Pegler mean to imply that the anti-inflation or conservation campaigns were Red? I could name the Program Manager of every campaign which was operated by OWI during the war. I could give the business background of the Program Managers. Most came from advertising agencies. It would be most difficult to discover any Communist connections . . . past or

present . . . among these big-business-minded agency men. During the war, hundreds of business men, advertising people, at a personal financial sacrifice, went to Washington to help the OWI in selling the very necessary war effort programs. The War Advertising Council and the representatives of all advertising media cooperated in lining up advertisers who would turn over their space and printed promotion to the job of selling the American people on essential wartime projects.

When Pegler, mimicking Edward James Smythe and Joe Kamp, spread the news that OWI propaganda was consistently Red, he was definitely insulting the fine men who planned the programs and he was insulting his own newspaper's clients who were devoting their space to promoting OWI programs.

There was another peculiar aftermath to this story. I answered Westbrook Pegler's column in my trade magazine which goes to advertising people throughout the country. One advertising man didn't like my answer and in his angry letter inadvertently tipped me off on a story which had been whispered around . . . that OWI was anti-Catholic. He told me that "everyone knew" that the Communists had control at OWI and that it was nearly impossible for a Catholic to get a job in that organization. In all my times at OWI I had never heard the subject of religion discussed. So I made a brief investigation. I found that just the opposite was true. The Domestic Director of OWI, working directly under Elmer Davis, was

a very devout Catholic. Likewise was the official who had charge of all OWI printing; likewise the Distribution Manager for all OWI domestic information material. There were many other Catholic Program Directors or executives of one type or another. There were so many Catholic secretaries to executives, that it became necessary, prior to Holy Days, to send a mimeographed notice to all offices scheduling the hours, or period, which would be allowed for religious services.

I quote this case, not to introduce a note of religious argument, but simply to show the effect of propaganda and how false rumors spread. Many of the rumors against rationing, against the OWI and against the very necessary controls, originated among the people who were involved in the disruptionist propaganda campaign. The propaganda material and the rumors fan out into the offices of columnists of national reputation. Some of the columnists, such as Westbrook Pegler and John O'Donnell, pick up the rumors and give them to the nation as gospel facts.

Some of the rumors, such as those designed to discredit rationing and stimulate the black market, were actually originated in Berlin. Instructions were given to German agents in this country to spread the rumors in order to cause internal chaos.

Most of the attacks against the Jews, against the Negroes, against Labor, against the person of the President of the United States, originated in this way. It wouldn't have made any difference who had been

President. Our enemies would have been against him. Propaganda would paint him black.

I think that it is necessary for us plain ordinary citizens of the country to realize that our legislators in Washington are being pounded and pounded by consistent disruptive propaganda. Sometimes, when leaving Washington with stacks of this material packed in my bags, I've wondered how it is possible for Congressmen to remain as calm, collected and seemingly sane as they are.

Now that the war is over . . . the question is: "Will this knocking on the gates of our elected representatives be greater or less"? My prediction is that it will become greater in the months to come.

The Nationalists, the breeders of hate, the disruptors . . . in their desire to create chaos and to gain control, will become louder and louder in their knocks on the gates. They have been given the "green light" by the collapse of the sedition cases . . . and by the secrecy which has locked the complete true story of their misdeeds in the hidden files of the Federal Grand Jury.

10

Who Investigates the Investigators?

The fight for democracy on the home front took some licking on that fateful day in 1943, when pressure from the seats of the mighty and the vermin press caused the removal of William Power Maloney from the sedition case . . . an event which led finally to the collapse of the sedition trial.

But if you who read this report think that the removal of Maloney was an astounding and nearly unbelievable incident . . . I can give you an even more unbelievable *removal* which was caused by the same forces.

The fight for democracy on the home front took a second bad licking when, during the early part of the year 1945, a Congressional Investigating Committee *succeeded in wrecking the Army Orientation Course*.

That statement will need some explanation in order to make it perfectly clear.

The fight for democracy on the home front was very naturally divided into two phases.

First: It was necessary to uncover and prosecute the people here at home who were trying to undermine

the government. We lost part of that fight for the reasons described in early chapters of this book.

Second: In order to counteract disruptive propaganda . . . particularly that part which reached the members of the armed forces . . . it was necessary to teach the men and women in the Army and Navy, what the war was all about. That's why the Orientation Department was set up. At each Army and Navy installation throughout this country and abroad, there were "education and information" officers. Various officers and enlisted men were assigned to these special services. Their duties, other than to furnish amusement, included the providing of educational clinics on health, morale and other psychological aspects of Army life. The program constituted an honest effort to teach the men and women in the services what they were fighting for; to counteract disruptive propaganda reaching Army personnel; to create tolerance and understanding; to help each man and woman in the service to understand the principles of democracy.

This reporter cannot be considered a rank amateur on the subject. I've been around to Army camps and I've lectured before Orientation classes. I think I know some of the problems of the officers who conducted these classes. I've loafed around with them during the evening after work discussing their problems . . . hearing the tales of how intolerance and planned propaganda had upset some of their best laid programs. I've talked to the men in the camps after the lectures and I've heard some pretty ugly stories about the growth

of intolerance in the Army. I've seen some of the material which has been passed, more or less surreptitiously, among the service people in the camps. Such things as the disreputable blank verse: "The Parable of the Shekels". . . defaming the President, the Jews and our Allies. After a day of classes I've walked around through the barracks listening to arguments. Certainly, there was confused thinking.

I know how the officers of the Army Educational Divisions appreciated the work that was being done by the Orientation Department in the Pentagon Building in Washington.

The designated officials in Washington furnished each Army camp every week a special numbered bulletin suggesting the discussion topic for the week and outlining the ideas which might be incorporated into localized camp programs. Bibliographies were given showing additional reading matter on each topic which could be obtained by each individual officer. There was no attempt on the part of the Washington officials to dictate how these programs were to be run. Each local officer was given a free hand on how he should conduct the programs and the type of material presented. All that Washington did was to give an outline of the suggested method of approach and the information available on the subject. Hardly a bureaucratic set-up.

At first, the Orientation program was more or less general in character . . . but as it developed, the individual officers in the camps became more demanding

in their requests for definite information on tolerance and on Fascism. The men and women in the service were mixed up in their thinking, too. They wanted to have definite answers to definite questions on the subject of Fascism and on what we were *really* fighting for. These young minds in the Army and Navy installations were getting divisive propaganda from the outside.

So finally, during the early part of 1945, the Army Orientation officials in Washington, after much discussion and research, prepared "Program #64" on the subject of Fascism. *It was approved by top ranking Army officials.* Although written in the main part by the Information and Education Department, many additions were made, particularly in the descriptions of different forms of government, by other high ranking Army officials.

Piece #64 was distributed to the Army camps throughout this country and abroad. By that time, Navy officials were so thoroughly impressed with the Army Orientation Course that the Navy, too, adopted the material. This meant that all service installations throughout this country and the world received the same piece on Fascism. It met with immediate approval. It resulted in free and open discussions between the officers and their men. It was accomplishing the desired objective. It was overcoming some of the previously received disruptive propaganda.

Orientation Fact Sheet #64, which was highly restricted when first issued (dated 24th of March 1945), was an 8½ by 11 inch folder containing eight pages of copy.

Here is the preamble at the top of the sheet . . . a briefing of the purposes of the week's program:

"Note For This Week's Discussion:

"Fascism is not the easiest thing to identify and analyze; nor, once in power is it easy to destroy. It is important for our future and that of the world that as many of us as possible understand the causes and practices of Fascism, in order to combat it. Points to stress are: (1) Fascism is more apt to come to power at a time of economic crisis; (2) Fascism inevitably leads to war; (3) it can come to any country; (4) we can best combat it by making our democracy work."

After a brief introduction about the reasons why this country became involved in war, the Orientation officers attempted to describe Fascism. Since the piece is no longer "restricted" . . . all good citizens should know the Army definition of Fascism. Here it is:

"If we don't understand Fascism and recognize Fascism when we see it, it might crop up again—under another label—and cause another war.

"Fascism is a way to run a country—it's the way Italy was run, and the way Germany and Japan are run. Fascism is the precise opposite of democracy. The people run democratic governments, but Fascist governments run the people.

"Fascism is government by the few and for the few. The objective is seizure and control of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the state. Why? The democratic way of life interferes with their methods and desires for: (1) conducting business; (2) living with their fellow-men; (3) having the final say in matters concerning others, as well as themselves.

"The basic principles of democracy stand in the way of their desires; hence—democracy must go! Anyone who is not a member of their inner gang has to do what he's told. They permit no civil liberties, no equality before the law. They

make their own rules and change them when they choose. If you don't like it, it's 'T.S.'

"They maintain themselves in power by use of force combined with propaganda based on primitive ideas of 'blood' and 'race,' by skillful manipulation of fear and hate, and by false promises of security. The propaganda glorifies war and insists it is smart and 'realistic' to be pitiless and violent."

Thereafter, for the balance of the eight pages, Army Orientation officers told the instructors how they could handle discussions on the subject. How does Fascism start? How does Fascism work? Could Fascism happen here? How can we stop Fascism? The final three pages gave a detailed description of available textbooks plus quotations from speeches by prominent men on Democracy vs. Fascism and paragraphs from our Constitution.

It would take a long stretch of the imagination or a diseased mind to visualize this Fact Sheet #64 as a dangerous threat to America.

But #64 had not been out very long before the fireworks started. Copies were sent to members of Congress. Indignant speeches were made on the floor of the House. We don't even have to tell you who made those speeches. John Rankin didn't like the Fact Sheet. Neither did Clare Hoffman relish the idea of the Army trying to tell the men and women in the service about Fascists.

Very soon . . . there were mysterious doings over at the Pentagon Building. Investigators were dispatched from Congressional offices to find out who was responsible for this Fact Sheet on Fascism. Several

members of G2 (the Intelligence Branch of the Army) were also opposed to this excellent report.

The Chief Counsel of the House Military Affairs Committee demanded "an explanation" from high placed Army officials.

It was not long before other disturbing things began to happen over in the Army's Information and Education Department where the Orientation Programs were prepared. Top-notch personnel were *transferred* to other duties or *simply separated* from the service.

"Tone down! We don't want trouble from Burton!" seems to have been the new battle-cry.

And who is Burton? I'll describe Mr. Burton shortly.

In reporting this incident I, too, am bound by certain restrictions of secrecy. An unpleasant spot to be in! In spite of the fact that I'm trying to break up secrecy . . . I know some details about this case which can only be brought to light by a true Congressional investigation . . . or by the Army itself. I must protect certain innocent people from further possible persecution.

But I am able to reveal a few startling facts. For one thing . . . the Army Orientation Course became so weak and lacking in aggressiveness that the Navy threatened to discontinue using the Army material in its program for keeping the Navy personnel informed. This may be officially denied . . . but it's the truth.

It may be a secret, but leaks have come to me that Army personnel throughout the country and even

abroad protested vigorously on *the very noticeable change for the worse in the Army Orientation Course*.

What is behind all this upset and disruption in the Army Orientation Course. . . just at a time when the officers in charge had completed their plans for the difficult reconversion or returnee period? I personally know about those plans for I've discussed them often with Army personnel. They realized long ago the difficult readjustment problems ahead . . . the job of keeping the men and women who remain in the service satisfied . . . the job of handling in a sympathetic manner the returnees, some of whom are disabled or in the psychoneurotic class. But that program has all been swept aside. Thrown out the window!

What is the real cause of all this?

To get to the real cause . . . we must dig into the title of this chapter: "Who Investigates the Investigators?"

Many of the Congressional Investigating Committees have been a disgrace.

There is no use at this late date of retelling the sordid history of the Dies Committee. Dies allowed his chief counsel and chief investigator, Messrs. Stripling and Mathews, to embark on a witch-hunting spree which has had no equal in the annals of Congressional investigations. Instead of going after Japanese and German agents and delving into the real causes of disunity in the United States . . . the Dies investigators tried to pin a Communist label on every liberal, both in the government and in private life. The Dies Committee depended

for its outside "confidential" advice on people like Joe Kamp, who sees a Communist hiding behind every lamppost.

Equally bad has been the Veterans Affairs Committee under guidance of intolerant John Rankin of Mississippi. I sat through the hearings in Washington when the Veterans Committee of the House was supposedly trying to get the testimony of several reporters and magazine writers who had uncovered abuses in veterans' hospitals. Observers at those hearings looked at each other in amazement. This couldn't actually be happening in the United States. The chief counsel and the chairman of this Committee, while interrogating witnesses, made no effort to get the facts or the knowledge which was in the possession of the witnesses. The entire effort, seemingly, was directed at discrediting the witness and proving that the facts he might have were of no value. When a newspaper reporter rightly refused to divulge the source of his information, Rankin jumped to his feet, shaking his finger and howling: "I will cite you for contempt." It sounded like a Nazi tribunal. Be it reported for the glory of some members of this one Committee . . . they finally became aware of the disgraceful situation and voted Rankin down. The contempt charge was dropped. In fact, the hearings were dropped because President Truman appointed a new director for Veterans Affairs.

But from our observations in Washington, the worst investigating committee of the House is on the fifth floor of the new House Office Building . . . where the

sign reads: "Military Affairs." I doubt very much if the individual members of the Military Affairs Committee know what goes on in "their" offices. H. Ralph Burton is not only the chief counsel to the Committee but also the chief investigator. He has had a strange history.

Burton entered politics as a secretary to a member of Congress. He established a Congressional reporting service; qualified for the Bar and was just establishing a flourishing law business when the first World War crippled his staff. He still shares a law office in Washington with his son.

At some point in his training something must have happened to turn his emotions toward a rather pointless Red-baiting, to venomous anti-Semitism and anti-Negroism . . . and to thoroughly reactionary and garbled economic, political and social thinking.

At one time he was the attorney for William Ludecke at hearings before another House investigating committee. Ludecke boasted that he was the Number Two Nazi of the United States, delegated by Hitler personally to assist in the organization of pro-Nazi collaboration in America.

Of course, that defense of a Nazi agent cannot be held against Ralph Burton. Lawyers must get business.

But Burton was engaged as special counsel by the DAR during its most flagrant Red-baiting days. He was also engaged as special counsel for the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies . . . a curious amalgamation embracing a hundred or more Tory groups

ranging in respectability from the ultra to the lowest.

Burton became an intimate of Walter Steele, editor and publisher of the Fascist-minded *National Republic* and a "big brain" behind the American Coalition.

About 1935 or 1936, Burton became general counsel in the Province of Maryland for Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice and, according to all personal acquaintances, he developed an adoration for the Father. Burton later on went to Detroit and did special research work for Coughlin. He gives various reasons for the termination of his association with the Social Justice crowd . . . but there is good reason to believe that some of those associations still exist.

Burton has had other peculiar clients. So has his partner son, Robert W. Burton. Members of the Military Affairs Committee should ask the Washington Police Department for a report on the strange associates of the son. He lived before the war at Valley Vista Apartments which contained residences and offices of both Japanese and German embassies. The younger Burton was a frequent visitor at the Japanese Embassy. He consorted socially with and was attorney for known Nazi sympathizers who were under surveillance of Washington Police, the FBI and Military Intelligence. The younger Burton carried, at one time, credentials authorizing him to represent the House Military Affairs Committee.

During 1939, H. Ralph Burton was an investigator for the WPA Sub-Committee of the House Appropriations Committee. His special crusade was to injure

the Federal Theatre and the Federal Writers Project . . . which he successfully accomplished through investigations which revolved largely around individuals who were freely accused of Communist membership without much proof. Unknown to the members of the Congressional Committee, to the people of the higher staff, Burton's investigations involved a determined effort to find out the number of Jews employed in WPA, their executive responsibility . . . an effort designed to show, from Burton's warped viewpoint, that Jews, Communists and persons of foreign birth or parentage were dominant in control of the WPA. The investigation resulted in a personal feud between Burton and Colonel (later Lieutenant General) Brehon B. Somervell . . . a feud which has continued until the present time.

In a hotel room during the New York investigation, Burton suddenly and irrelevantly exclaimed to some associates after a long reverie: "No-o-o-o, I don't really believe that *all* Jews are Communists."

During Burton's years of office in the House Military Affairs Committee . . . he has been a constant thorn in the side of the Army officials and executives of other government departments. In one case, an investigation was being conducted to uncover draft deferment policies of various government departments. In checking lists of employees, Burton would skip over the Murphys, Smiths, O'Donnells, Joneses, etc., and go after a Ginsberg or a Levy. There were instances when Burton or his investigators would call Selective Service boards by

long distance in an effort to "put the heat" on a government employee with a Jewish name. The search for Jews and Communists became an obsession with the Military Affairs Committee.

Investigators employed by Burton have asked Army executives for lists of employees, with a careful check of all Jewish names. (Incidentally, this same situation exists with the present investigators of the revised "Dies" Committee, which has already had several chairmen but which is now dominated by John Rankin of Mississippi.)

Burton has made a practice of issuing press releases which will gain headlines. Conversely, he starts investigations very often as the result of newspaper stories. Burton, recently, issued news stories from the House Military Affairs Committee condemning the Army's mistreatment of prisoners. The true story behind that case is most disturbing. Burton received rumors indicating that an American soldier had beaten a guard-house prisoner. The Army conducted a thorough investigation. Two officers and four men were court-martialed in order to get all the facts spread on the record. Prosecuting and defense attorneys had been notable lawyers in private life. After a thorough hearing, the court-martial cleared the two officers and the four men. There was nothing to the story except that a prisoner had attacked an Army private who had smacked the prisoner in return.

Burton wasn't satisfied. He demanded that the witnesses at the court-martial be called into *his office* for

questioning. I know for a fact that the Army big-shots, in an effort to please (or appease) the House Military Affairs Committee, called at least twenty-five soldiers from line of duty (some from the frontlines) and flew them by air transport to Washington *solely for the purpose of being questioned by H. Ralph Burton*. At the end of his lengthy questioning, Burton released a story to the press protesting against the mistreatment. He disregarded the findings of the court-martial and the stories reported to him by soldier witnesses. In other words, the story released by the Military Affairs Committee to the papers was plain unadulterated bunk. Indignant Army officials said so in plain, unadulterated English.

One of the big mysteries behind the House Military Affairs Committee is what happened to the so-called Rohl-Wyman investigation. It is typical of the comic opera atmosphere which surrounds Burton-directed sleuthing.

Some of you may remember that Fulton Lewis, Jr., broadcast a sensational story in November, 1943, indicating that he had evidence showing fraud, collusion and possible German espionage, in the construction of airports in Hawaii. Lewis claimed that he flew to Mexico and uncovered a witness who knew "the real story." The radio commentator later brought that witness, a man named Robert Hoffman of Mexico City, to H. Ralph Burton of the House Military Affairs Committee. So much appeared in the papers of those days concerning this sensational case that the then-

Truman Committee and the FBI wanted to obtain Mr. Hoffman as a witness. Mr. Burton refused to turn over his witness to the Truman Committee of the Senate. Later on, he told several FBI agents that he didn't know where Hoffman was . . . that Hoffman was out *doing a job* for the Military Affairs Committee. The truth was that Hoffman was at that time in Washington and was spirited out of Washington by plane on Army priority.

I do not want to get involved in arguments as to the guilt or innocence of the principals in this mysterious case . . . we are simply reporting investigating technique.

Burton sent investigators, including, it seems, Fulton Lewis' star witness Hoffman, to California. They worked with the men on a California Committee* who had "tipped off" Fulton Lewis. Affidavits were secured to prove that Rohl mingled with German agents; that he was an alien with access to military secrets. Much emphasis was placed on his name "*Hans Wilhelm Rohl*", whereas he has been known for many years as "Bill" or William. The men behind the investigation in California seemed to be hunting material which would embarrass the Government. Things looked bad. Burton, shortly thereafter, dispatched another investigator to California to check up on the first investigators. Sleuthing the sleuths! The second, working with

* The California Committee was a Special Committee on subversive activities of the California State Senate; the Chairman was Jack B. Tenney, unsuccessful candidate for nomination as Governor against Warren. Close examination of reports and techniques reveals that the investigation was overly sensational, and filled with hearsay and speculation.

a Burton-accredited investigator in California found that much of the earlier testimony and some of the affidavits were "exaggerated" . . . a polite word for it.

In one case, a timid maid had signed a statement purporting to show that Rohl had received many telephone calls from a known German agent. Later, the maid (obviously befuddled) confessed she had been "rushed into it" and didn't even know the man's name. She signed a new statement denying the first. I have photostats of that evidence.

The second set of investigators checked on Rohl and found justifying evidence in his favor. They formally interrogated Rohl about his dealings with Fulton Lewis' star witness.

I have in my possession a photostatic copy of an affidavit which Mr. Rohl signed before a notary on March 8th, 1944 . . . after being interrogated by the two House Military Affairs Committee Investigators in the office of Martin and Martin, attorneys, at 714 West Olympic Boulevard, Los Angeles. In order to double check on its authenticity, I secured personal confirmation from all the principals present when the affidavit was made.

Mr. Rohl testified that: (1) on February 3rd, 1944, Robert Hoffman (the Fulton Lewis-Burton witness) called Rohl's secretary from the Mayfair Hotel and asked for an appointment to "talk things over." Said he had talked to Burton, and wanted to see Rohl before Rohl was called to testify. (2) Rohl told his secretary

to make the appointment and that he would send his son Fred to drive Hoffman out to the Ranch.

(3) On Saturday, February 5th, Hoffman was driven to the Ranch and spent about three hours there.

(4) While at the Ranch, Hoffman said that he had talked to Burton and May (who had prevented his appearance before the Truman Committee) and that the entire investigation would be dropped if Rohl deposited \$25,000 on Monday the 7th to Hoffman's account. Further that Rohl would receive a wire from Burton confirming that investigation would be closed. Ninety days after receiving this confirmation from Burton, Rohl was to deposit a final \$75,000 to Hoffman's account.

(5) Rohl told Hoffman he would "let him know" by Monday. On Monday morning the secretary called Hoffman to say "No." Hoffman told the secretary, "forget the whole thing and not even mention that I was in town."

(Note: Driving back from the Ranch to Los Angeles, Hoffman warned Rohl's son, Fred, "tell your father to follow the plan I outlined for him and everything will be all right, but if he doesn't, he's going to be in a hell of a lot of trouble.")

In other words, the testimony indicates that the star witness for Burton's Fulton Lewis, Jr., investigation tried to blackmail one of the persons under investigation.

The second set of investigators dispatched their new findings, including the affidavit quoted above, the sec-

ond affidavit by the maid, and various other pertinent information to Burton. He immediately recalled the one man to Washington and fired him upon arrival. He refused to explain the reason for this dismissal to the indignant accredited House representative in California (a reputable business man working without pay) who thereupon resigned. The letter of resignation was a blistering attack on the shady tactics used in Military Affairs Committee investigations.

Burton dropped the investigation but issued a final printed report on June 14, 1944 which was largely a rehash of the original testimony and affidavits collected by the California Committee and his first set of investigators. *His printed report made no mention of the new affidavits, the corrected testimony, or of the Hoffman shakedown attempts.* It is questionable whether the members of the House Military Affairs Committee were permitted to see the new evidence which slanted the whole case in an opposite direction from Fulton Lewis' Government-embarrassing original plan.

The Rohl-Wyman investigation was the subject covered in the now famous missing Chapter Five in the Army's report on Pearl Harbor to President Truman. For a time, there was much speculation on why that chapter had been "suppressed." Another whitewash?

Well . . . on October 6, 1945 the Army released the full draft of Chapter Five. It contained an elaborated rehash of the California Tenney Committee findings plus material from the printed report of the House Military Affairs Committee. On the closing pages,

the Army Board of Inquiry acknowledged its "gratitude" to H. Ralph Burton for furnishing "reliable information."

But in releasing Chapter Five as originally written, Secretary of War Patterson issued a carefully worded statement saying in *effect* that *subsequent investigation* disproved most of the charges made and that "there is no connection whatsoever between the matters dealt with in Chapter Five relative to Colonel Wyman and others and the Pearl Harbor disaster itself."

In other words, the original Army Board of Inquiry was fooled by the Tenney and Burton "evidence" . . . but the wording of the Patterson statement reveals that someone in the Army found the new evidence which Burton so carefully concealed from the members of the House Military Affairs Committee.

Isn't this another incident where the true facts should be known by the American people? Why was the case dropped? Who is protecting whom? Who is suppressing what? Has the Truman Committee, or its successor, ever found out why Burton denied to them the services of his "star witness," Mr. Robert Hoffman, who after the unsuccessful shakedown of Rohl disappeared completely? Is it true that Rohl was being persecuted by a political and business opponent?

What has all of this to do with the subject of our report? Plenty.

I think it is high time for a new procedure in Congress . . . an investigation of investigators. What's the

reason for the super-secrecy surrounding the Investigation Department of the House Military Affairs Committee?

Is it true that the chief counsel and the investigators for the House Military Affairs Committee have been thorns in the side of the Army? Is it true that they have persecuted individuals solely on account of their race, origin or religion?

Is it true that H. Ralph Burton personally decided to suppress *Races of Mankind*, a sound, impartial analysis of the "race question" written by outstanding, reputable anthropologists, which was to be distributed by the Army as part of their Orientation Course? Is it true that H. Ralph Burton demanded of his research investigators that they find some Communistic slant to *Races of Mankind* so that a release could be issued suppressing it from intended distribution throughout the Army? Is it true that the researchers protested—but were forced to find what Burton wanted to find . . . because he doesn't believe in equality of opportunity?

Who is the Doctor S. Arthur Devan, former minister and Rhodes scholar, who is employed by Burton in the House Military Affairs Investigating Committee office? Is it true that the "Burton Committee" decided to persecute Army Orientation personnel because Dr. Devan personally decided that the Orientation Course on Fascism was "Communist" in tone? Did the members of the House Military Affairs Committee formally and officially vote on the actions taken by their chief counsel and chief investigator? Do the members of the

Committee know that H. Ralph Burton did not want the Army to give the members of the armed services "ideas" or to discuss "controversial" issues . . . such as, what were we fighting for?

There we have only a small portion of a very disgraceful story . . . and I am coming to the end of my story . . . except for suggesting some solutions which have come to me from experience.

The story of William Power Maloney's removal from the sedition case ties in closely with the obstruction of Orientation in the Army. The forces of disunity and Fascism prevented an orderly prosecution under the law. Secrecy, hush-hush and protection prevented the indictment of many who were guilty or who were working for the enemy rather than for their country. Coming down to the end of the trail . . . we find that the same forces were working to keep service people from being told the truth about Fascism. We found, in between, that the same identical forces tried to impede or wreck OWI during the war . . . and now they are trying to pin individual blame for Pearl Harbor on a silenced Commander-in-Chief—the man *they* called a warmonger.

I see no reason why the important jobs of chief counselor and chief investigator of the Military Affairs Committee should be left to a mind which is tuned to the distorted and intolerant ideologies of a Father Coughlin. I see no reason why an important committee such as this should stoop to Red-baiting and Jew-

hating; should depend for its facts on men like Walter Steele of the Nationalist-minded American Coalition.

I will not mince words. This should be clearly understood. H. Ralph Burton, Chief Counsel of the House Military Affairs Committee, *forced* the removal of Army Orientation personnel and forced a change in Orientation courses because he, Burton, didn't like what the Army had to say about Fascism.

In making these charges, I am not trying to depreciate the value of Congressional Committees . . . the good ones! *There are good ones!* I have interviewed dozens of Army officers and government executives. Nowhere have I found any expressed wish to *avoid investigation*. Army men have told me: "Sure, there are bound to be mistakes made. In a group of eight million or more persons we are certain to have a percentage of skunks and scoundrels. A good Congressional Investigating Committee can help us to avoid mistakes and to clean out the crooks."

I have heard government executive department heads say: "Our position is that Congress has a right to investigate anything, anywhere, anytime. But we believe Congress has a duty to insure that the investigation is fair, honest and complete."

To that, I say "Amen."

We should stop this secrecy . . . the hush-hush . . . the shoddy tactics . . . and personal persecution on the part of investigating committees. We should investigate the investigators. Unless we do there is trouble, much trouble, ahead.

11

The Final Roundup

In the preceding chapters I have given a word picture of the *secrecy* which surrounds all efforts to expose the campaign to disrupt the thinking of the people. I have summarized what happened before the war, during the war and in the early days of the postwar period. I've pointed out the trends which are evident for the immediate future. Now I want to begin a discussion of some possible solutions. Finding these solutions may counteract the growing intolerance and disunity fomented by the stimulators of chaos.

I'll give here my personal opinions, formed after years of study in Washington . . . after years of investigation and exposure of disruptive propaganda. They may be my *personal opinions* . . . but they are given only after a thorough check with hundreds of sensible people (Senators, Congressmen, Government officials and workers, lawyers, ministers, teachers, laymen, housewives, etc.) who are not inclined to be hysterical or of the type who want to rock the boat. Our solutions must be sensible. Practical.

The solutions fall within four natural categories:

1. The People; 2. The Church; 3. The Congress;
4. The Law.

The People

When we discuss anything as broad as "the people," we can think only in terms of mass education . . . not individuals. It's true that during the war *the people* were at a high pitch, so that often the disruptive propaganda was laughed aside. But much of it found root in fertile soil. Or, at least, the seeds were planted for propagation when another winter of indifference has passed away.

To counteract intolerance and the other devices of Fascism, we must start with education.

In my talks around the country, describing the black mail campaign, my best audiences were in high schools or in young people's groups. I've told the older listeners many times that I'd much rather talk to the young people. Their minds are agile and searching. They want to know the truth. Next most exciting audiences were in Army Orientation meetings. Officers and men alike wanted facts. No punches pulled. I think that we must have a nationwide promotion of liberal education on democracy starting at the youth level. We should give the young people the truth about democracy. Let them hear what democracy really means or what real democracy should be. Let them learn without restraint about all other forms of government. Let them make up their own minds about whether they want democracy or some other form of government.

They will choose the most desirable for them and for their future. There's been too much hush-hush and too much oppression or suppression of teaching.

There have been too many reported cases where teachers have spread a straight Fascist line—openly condemning or ridiculing Jews, Italians or racial minorities. There have been too many reported cases of teachers persecuted for trying to give their pupils a liberal education in democracy. They've been labeled Communists if they dared to let the young minds know that “democracy,” as practiced by those who consider the word only as a handy substitute for “limited republic,” is not what our forefathers dreamed. I know of one instance, close at home, where at a county wide young peoples' forum, with representatives from each school *elected* by the student body, the powers that be in Education prevented the appearance of a young Negro who stood high in his class. Was this democracy—or free education? Let's have it free . . . and unshackled.

The campaign of education must spread to the newspapers . . . and to other media of public information. There should be public exposure of those media, such as newspapers, which follow an intolerant or undemocratic line. Not suppression, not restriction of the freedom of the press . . . but complete exposure. I candidly don't know what to recommend in cases such as John O'Donnell and Westbrook Pegler. Perhaps their columns should simply be labeled, “Warning: Poison.” Newspapers, you know, are required to place the label

“advertising” on all paid insertions which are trickily dressed to appear as educational or informative material.

The radio has perhaps done the best job of keeping its channels of education clean. Throughout the war . . . radio combatted, by truth telling, the wave of intolerance and disruption which received too much encouragement in other media of information. True, there were the discordant notes of Upton Close, sponsored by former German American Board of Trade member Kemper; Fulton Lewis, Jr., Boake Carter, Bertie McCormick . . . but they were labeled “advertising” and the voices were drowned in the overwhelming chorus of straight thinking reporters and commentators. The full potentiality of radio’s educational power has not been closely approached. It must move forward, and cleanly.

There should be a broader education in the problems of government, so that the result of that education reaches into the halls of Congress, and into all branches of the Government. “The people” could be induced to be more interested in politics at the *local level* . . . to understand that national reforms start away back home with the selection of district committeemen, cross-road commissioners and county clerks.

I think all of us should be induced in some way to relearn that the greatness of the United States of America . . . in many ways the most stupendous country in the world . . . is due in great part to *one fact*.

It is the only country on the face of the earth to

which the little people of the world flocked *in order to get away from oppression*. None of us here are blooded Americans. Our ancestors were all born (with the exception of the Indians) in some other land.

We are a country of seekers for freedom . . . of seekers for safety from oppression. We are a mixture of all the bloods, creeds and cultures of the world. We are still young and vital. We'll remain young and vital if we can prevent intolerance, oppression and chaos from creeping in. When we as "the people" silently allow Rankins and Bilbos to oppress the Negro, defame the Jew, or discredit Catholicism as a faith; when we allow foreign ideologies to teach us to oppress our neighbors or people of opposite political or religious beliefs . . . we are wrecking the very thing this country was founded for. We're helping to go back to the customs of lands from which our ancestors fled. Intolerance and oppression do not belong in a democracy. We may not like our next door neighbor or the fellow who sits in front of us at the movie . . . but we don't, if we are believers in democracy, throw rocks through the neighbor's windows or hit the fellow in front a treacherous blow over the head.

For all these reasons, and many more, I think that one remedy for secrecy and false propaganda is the education of the people. The details? That's a job for liberal educators, psychologists and social workers. But it's a required program for the future. Such programs have been started at a few isolated islands of broad thinking. The Springfield Plan has been much talked

about . . . but why the delay in starting it or similar plans in every community in the country? There are resistances. Liberal thinkers who attempt to start such plans will probably be called Communists. But that is a device of the Fascists for discrediting those who want or believe in true democracy.

If the people are thoroughly educated in the possibilities of democracy . . . then the people will see that they have the right representation in Congress. The people will see that we have the right kind of laws . . . to prevent a recurrence of some of the astounding incidents described in this book. I personally have no great fears for the future. I've talked to enough groups of young people to believe that democracy is in safe hands. I think I know my own three sons. Their friends, too. I've corresponded with, heard from or talked to thousands of young people—from foxholes to classrooms.

The young people, especially those who have seen Fascism and totalitarianism and oppression, won't let democracy slip out of their grasp. They will not advocate communism, in spite of the loud voiced fears of the Fascists, if under communism, too, freedom would fall from their hands.

I leave the problem of education to be handled by people more experienced than I.

The Church

I wish I could find the young minister who rose in one audience to ask me how or why the Church had

failed to counteract the conditions I had described. I asked him if he would like to answer the question himself. He did . . . in an inspired plea for tolerance and understanding more thrilling than any planned program of mine. In the ensuing debate and excitement I didn't get his name. But the brief highlights of the discussion are these:

The Church in too many instances has failed to accept the challenge of the new age. It, too, is bogged down in out-moded traditions. In too many cases, the Church has failed to accept leadership in teaching the broad conception of the brotherhood of man, which should be the goal of spiritual education.

Instead, during the height of the propaganda campaign, ministers of all faiths, natural lovers of peace, were drawn into questionable associations. This report has told of the nefarious activities of the outright rabble-rousers of the Coughlin breed, and of the intolerant promoters of hate among the Fundamentalists. But many sincere, misguided wearers of the cloth allowed their names to be used as leaders in disruptive movements such as "America First."

To put it bluntly . . . too many ministers left their spiritual job and embarked in politics. Instead of teaching and preaching virtue and brotherhood, they endorsed, by their association, the principles of hate.

The solution to this angle of secrecy and propaganda should be simple.

The Church should stay out of politics. Don't misunderstand me. The Church has a right to cry out

against *sin* in politics, economics or in individual life. I am not criticizing the Federal Council of Churches or similar groups who want to organize and fight for decency and tolerance. But, freedom of religion was one of the principles for which this country was founded. So was the separation of Church and State. Freedom of religion should mean what it says. Freedom of religion should not mean license to fight against or undermine the religion of others.

Unless the Church, and by that I mean all sects, branches and subdivisions of "the Church," gets out of politics, we are going to have trouble. Here again, "the people" form the basis of the solution. "The people," properly educated, can demand that their spiritual leaders stick to their line of religious education and to the broad promotion of the brotherhood of man, which when interpreted literally is nothing more than plain, ordinary, uncamouflaged democracy.

That was, basically, the message brought to the world nearly two thousand years ago by the Man of Galilee . . . and He built His doctrine on the structure of Judaism which when stripped of all confusing ritualism was man's first protest against earthly forms of idolatry . . . a searching for the spiritual brotherhood of man.

If "the Church" would cling to the inherent realm of the Church, we wouldn't have ministers like Norman Vincent Peale leading the narrow-minded pressure group dominated by Rumely of the Committee for Constitutional Government; we wouldn't have minis-

ters actively identified with the America First Committee; we wouldn't have ministers preaching theories of the Master Race; we wouldn't have ministers joining in public petitioning for negotiated "Peace Now," in advertisements placed one week before the first atomic bomb was dropped.

And in order to avoid all possible misunderstanding, I emphasize that I mean *all ministers* in this solution. I mean that *all ministers* should stay out of political pressure groups, as long as they elect to remain in their profession. Let the Church restrict itself to spiritual values and to broad education in the fundamentals of true democracy. That will solve many of our troubles.

The Congress

In this book, I have criticized violently and described unflatteringly quite a number of members and ex-members of the Congress of the United States. Those who are not in the category of the ones described know that this investigator has a high regard for Congress. I stick to my guns in saying that Congress is the symbol of our form of government . . . a democracy. I would not want anything to happen to Congress; that is, to disrupt or eliminate Congress. In all my investigations and my contacts with investigators, I have yet to find anyone who believes otherwise. We've all been accused at one time or another by the Congressmen involved in propaganda of being "a bunch of Communists" who want to destroy or "smear" Congress. That is farthest from the truth. We've simply been

trying to improve Congress and we have fought against both Republicans and Democrats who were working in an undemocratic way to divide the thinking of this country or to keep it weak. We have protested violently against those Congressmen who, *wittingly or unwittingly*, cooperated with foreign agents or with the ideas of foreign agents.

Some solutions to the difficulties in Congress may be relatively simple . . . but they seem difficult to achieve. Difficult, at least, so long as Congress sticks to some of its antiquated procedures which were considered suitable in the horse and buggy days. Many of the practices of Congress are not in keeping with the atomic age which we entered during the final days of Japan's effort to rule the world.

Here are some of the things which Congress could do:

It could revise its rules of "personal privilege." It could get away to some extent from the antiquated rules of "Congressional courtesy." It could cease to be a gentleman's club.

Just because a man is elected to Congress is no reason to assume that he is beyond reproach. We should eliminate for all time the idea that a Congressman should not be subpoenaed to appear as a witness or even as a possible defendant in an investigation. A Congressman has as many obligations to democracy as any other citizen. There's no reason why a Congressman should be entitled to avoid appearing before a Grand Jury or as a witness in a trial. Hamilton Fish tried to avoid

appearing before the Grand Jury. Stephen Day *succeeded* in his refusal to appear as a witness in George Sylvester Viereck's trial. Why?

The antiquated customs of illogical courtesy should be entirely revised. It has been difficult to get one Congressman to criticize the actions of another Congressman. Why should the members of Congress remain silent while Rankin rants against the Negroes and the Jews? Why should the members of the Senate remain silent when Senator Langer defends with poor taste a bunch of propagandists who are on trial in a court of law? Why should the Senate remain quiet when a Bilbo uses the stationery of a Senate Committee to write insulting letters to "Dear Dago" and "Dear Kike"? Why should the Senate remain quiet when a Wheeler allows a Nazi-minded Steuben Society to use his frank? There is no sound or defensible reason for allowing members of Congress to lie, to "smear," to falsely accuse citizens who have no opportunity to defend themselves . . . or no opportunity to bring libel action.

Paraphrasing the indignant Senator described in our first chapter, "there is too much blankety blank courtesy in Congress." I don't know how the changes will come about. Perhaps they will be made only when "the people" know their Congress well enough to demand an end to unnatural "courtesy," with all its earmarks of well-intentioned but ill-advised school-boy "protection" of members of the gang. A final consideration in changing the rules of personal privilege and courtesy . . . should seek the elimination of Congressional

tie-ups with *pressure groups*. As ministers should stick to the Church . . . so should Congressmen adhere to their province. And again, we are talking about both sides of the fence. Congressmen should not affiliate with pressure groups which are trying to influence legislation. They should be affiliated only with their party. Wheeler, Fish, Nye, Hoffman, Moore, etc., should not be allowed, under rules of Congress, to join, be affiliated with, or lend their name to pressure groups such as America First, the Committee for Constitutional Government . . . or even with Friends of Democracy on our side. Let the members of Congress be unfettered, impartial, judicious. And above all else, Congress should not allow any of its members to start and head a pressure group such as Ham Fish's Nazi-favored National Committee to Keep America Out of Foreign Wars. The purpose may seem sensible on the surface, but the hidden sponsorship may be something else again.

The next step in the reorganization of Congressional practices should be an entirely new set-up in *committee management*. It is ridiculous for the chairmanship of important committees to fall into the hands of an inefficient character who gets the job solely because of length of service in the Senate or the House. We realize that plans have already been discussed to change this preposterous and unworkable custom in Congress. That procedure is responsible for the fact that John Rankin (elected by a small minority of his constituency) is the Chairman of the important Veterans Affairs Commit-

tee. It was only because of this rule that the disgraceful hearings at which a newspaperman was cited for contempt were possible. John Rankin, the narrow-visioned exponent of white Aryan supremacy, has shown none of the qualities needed in a chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee of the House.

"Nationalist" Robert Rice Reynolds had no more right to be Chairman of the important Military Affairs Committee of the Senate than some of his stooges like the Hitler-heiling Joe McWilliams.

Why can't the important committee chairmen and vice-chairmen be elected by the members or be appointed by the respective speakers or leaders with full accountability demanded for their acts and after complete investigation of their qualifications for the job?

The following recommendation is of even greater importance. In the reorganization of Congressional committees, there should be entirely new rules governing the selection of legal counsel and investigators. Remember Chapter Ten, "Who Investigates the Investigators"? We've discussed this problem many times with members of Congress who were alarmed about some of the committees which got into "deplorable hands."

Bluntly, the whole trouble is that the average Congressman does not pay enough attention to his committee assignments. He has become accustomed to letting the chairman handle it. The chairman selects his chief counsel and lets the chief counsel select the

investigators (if it happens to be an investigating committee). Often the members of the committee do not know intimately the chief counsel nor the investigators. They take the chairman's word for it. If the chairman happens to be a man like John Rankin or Senator Reynolds or Martin Dies . . . he selects the chief counsel because that chief counsel will carry out his policy. If the policy happens to be witch-hunting, red-baiting, Jew-baiting or President-smearing, the chief counsel follows the boss. That's why so many committee investigations are *slanted*. The chief counsel picks his own investigators and puts them on the track to discover or manufacture preconceived ideas of evidence. If it happens to be a man like Ralph Burton of the House Military Affairs Committee, he picks investigators who will try to manufacture a Communist or Jewish plot from every incident brought to his attention. If incidents aren't brought to his attention, he'll try to manufacture thoughts or incidents which involve suspected "Communistic" or Jewish control. An example is Burton's suppression of *Races of Mankind*, another his persecution of Army Orientation personnel.

The committees of Congress should not accept counselors or investigators without a thorough investigation of their qualifications and their willingness to uphold the sound principles of true democracy.

The committees should not allow the chief counsel nor the investigators to issue headline-seeking press releases before the full committee has studied the case and authorized the release. We know of many inci-

dents where the investigators for House or Senate Committees have issued slanted statements to the press without the members of the committee knowing anything about the situation. That happened repeatedly in the Dies Committee . . . and it has happened frequently with the House Military Affairs Committee. Unless a change is made in committee procedure . . . Congress will, in the days ahead, fall into greater disrepute.

It may sound boring to keep harping on the subject, but Congress *must* change the loose rules governing the use of the franking privilege. The objection usually offered is "Congress won't pass rules regulating its own privileges." But the franking privilege should be restricted if Congress wants to maintain its dignity and respect.

The solution is so simple. Augustus Bennet, fulfilling a pre-election promise, introduced a logical bill, but it is buried in silence. Pass a brief resolution limiting the use of the frank (1) to members' own personal correspondence and (2) to distribution of printed matter to constituents only. Grant an exception for a mass mailing, on a national list, only when the full committee handling legislation pertaining to subject covered in mailing, votes permission to chairman to use his frank in disseminating information. Such a resolution would prevent Fish, Wheeler, Nye, Moore, Langer, etc., from selling the use of their frank to pressure groups. Include everyone in this restriction. I don't want "my side" to have the privilege of the

frank. Pressure groups, publicity promoters, educational crusaders, should pay postage for all mailings.

Finally, we have a recommendation which may be startling to the average member of Congress. But we have discussed it with a few Senators and with some of the best legal experts in the country.

There was much opposition to the Dies Committee. It was purely a witch-hunting organization. There has been similar opposition to the "new Dies Committee" headed by John S. Wood of Georgia, but dominated by John Rankin. There will continue to be opposition to a House Investigating Committee.

Investigations are a serious affair. The investigators need investigation. The House is a complex organization. There are too many members with divergent points of view and localized political obligations or associations. I have nothing against the House end of Congress, but it is my opinion that serious investigations such as those for un-American activities should be restricted to the Senate end, or, at least, to a joint committee of both houses.

Undeniably, there should be a permanent committee to investigate un-American activities.

Preferably, *all investigations of un-American activities should rest with a sub-committee of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.* All other legislative investigations, within the scope of this subject, should be eliminated. There should be no duplication by such committees as the House Military Affairs. Otherwise, there is the danger of witch-hunting.

The very name itself, "un-American activities," envisions a program originated by a foreign government which wants to undermine true American activities. Therefore, why not leave it to a dignified, businesslike, broadminded Senate committee? This Senate subcommittee would, at all times and of necessity, view its investigations as to their effect on relations with foreign governments. There would be no witch-hunting. There would be no false slants for the purpose of headline seeking or unity-destroying sensationalism.

In all my years of watching and dealing with Congressional Investigating Committees, it is my honest opinion that the former Truman Committee did one of the finest jobs ever done. Its work has been satisfactorily continued by the present Mead Committee. And even better in effectiveness has been the subcommittee chairmaned by Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia. If anyone has any doubts about the efficient, unprejudiced, factual investigation technique of the Kilgore sub-committee, we suggest that he write for their printed reports. They are models of factual, unsensational presentation.

That's the kind of committee which should handle the investigation of un-American activities. If the Democrats are in control of the Senate, men like Kilgore would be perfectly safe. If the Republicans should be in control, such men as Ball could be depended upon to throw out the witch-hunters, the breeders of hatred, and the oppressors of minorities.

The investigation of un-American activities is a dan-

gerous and difficult assignment. It *demands* professional training and technique. The FBI touch. It should not be left to men like Dies or Rankin or to investigators such as Mathews or Ralph Burton, who are constantly trying to oppress individuals by falsely accusing them of connections which will put them in a bad light. And of even greater importance, in these investigations no one should be called into a public hearing unless there is strong proof that the witness has facts which are valuable. Once the witness is called, once an investigation is started, *there should be no secrecy*; there should be no "executive" or secret meetings of the Investigating Committee. There should be no votes to hide the evidence that has been collected, solely because that evidence may have political repercussions on individual members of the committee. That is the deep-rooted trouble in Washington with secrecy. That is why the indignant Senator described in Chapter One said, "That's the trouble in Washington. There is too much blankety blank secrecy." The investigations start with a hullabaloo. The investigators are sent on the trail, the newspapers receive hysterical, unauthenticated reports. Suddenly the investigation ends. The investigators are called off. In some cases the investigators themselves are fired under a cloud of suspicion . . . because pressure has been brought from some political, business or religious angle to prevent the truth from being known.

The real need in Congress today is to destroy secrecy and at the same time destroy oppression and witch-

hunting. Such a move on the part of the Senate and the entire Congress would help democracy. Throw out the witch-hunting investigating committees. Limit the investigation of un-American activities to a sub-committee of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate; or a joint committee of both Houses. Have the committee set up on an ethical and judicial basis. Have the investigators and the legal counsel hired only after careful investigation of each individual and upon the approval of the entire committee or even on the approval of the Senate itself. Be sure that the investigators have sound democratic principles. Have the entire investigation conducted in a straightforward, businesslike, democratic and non-secretive fashion.

Unless that is done, *and soon*, the witch-hunting in Washington will become worse. It is bad enough now.

The Law

Of course the pat solution to every problem is, "There ought to be a law . . ." There should be laws, several of them, to prevent our nation's being devoured by the bigots, the hate-peddlers, those who would deny equality of opportunity to their neighbors because of race, religion, or national origin.

There is no logical reason for refusing to extend our libel laws so that they protect the mass, as well as the individual. There is much hue and cry that such an extension would threaten freedom of speech. To use the trite example, no one yells "Violation of free speech" when a man is jailed for screaming "Fire!"

(if there is no fire) in a crowded theater. On the other hand, a man who sees a fire break out in a crowded theater would be derelict in duty if he did nothing to warn the audience that the fire was there.

The same principle applies to personal libel. Our simplest libel laws hold that no person can be held guilty of libel if he can prove his charges. A person who, untruthfully, accuses another of robbing a jewelry store, can be sued successfully for libel. On the other hand, a person who knows and can prove that another is robbing successively every jewelry store in town would be derelict in his civic duty if he failed to publicize his knowledge. In this case, of course, no successful libel action could be instituted.

Why can't the same principle be applied to mass libel? No person could be convicted under such a law if he could prove what he said to be true. For example: A person could say that the Negroes as a whole in the United States are not as well educated as the Whites. That is true; therefore the author of the statement could not be convicted of libel. On the other hand, if someone charged that Negroes, innately, are less capable of learning than Whites, he could be sued for libel. The charge cannot be proved; the overwhelming evidence, rather, is on the other side.

The freedom of speech boys who contend that a mass libel law would violate our freedom should, in order to be consistent, busy themselves with repealing our personal libel laws so that just anyone could accuse you and me of robbing banks, beating our wives, cheating

our business associates, and setting fire to our neighbor's barn. Suppose, because of these attacks, you and I lost all our business associates, all our means of livelihood, and were spurned by our acquaintances. Then we should have no redress; that would be violation of "freedom of speech."

Masses of people find themselves in precisely that position right now. Lies have been spread about them for such a long period of time that the great American stereotype of the Negro is that of a shiftless, no-good, mentally inferior being; Jews are stereotyped as greedy usurers who eagerly await the moment they can cheat a poor widow out of her last cent; the Irish are stereotyped as belligerent, drunken bums, *ad infinitum*. In many cases the stereotypes have handicapped members of minority groups in getting jobs, in finding a place to live, in their every day relations with their fellow human beings. These people actually have been *hurt, personally*, because so many still insist that freedom of speech also means freedom to lie.

Of course, we can't wipe out mass prejudice overnight, but we could pass a law making it unprofitable in the future for the prejudice, and the lies and misinterpretations on which the prejudice is based, to be distributed in wholesale lots.

The passage of a mass libel law naturally won't cure the world of all its ills. It won't even prevent all future mass libel, although it will tend to minimize it. Mass libel will continue because a good portion of those who spread it are mentally diseased, and chances are, for

the next few generations anyway, we'll have the mentally diseased with us. The mentally diseased always see ghosts and hobgoblins and conspirators bearing down upon them, and they identify these nightmares with Negroes, Jews, Irish, Italians, Mexicans, or any scapegoat handy.

This gets us around to thinking for a second time: "There ought to be a law . . ." There should be some kind of law which would treat the *causes* that produce the bigots and hate-peddlers. It's nonsense simply to "punish" the overt act which the causes produce. A whole section of America's Fascist movement, of every Fascist movement for that matter, is made up of people who are mentally ill. Punishing them is no good; they come out of prison worse than they were when the punishment began. On the other hand, they are a menace to our society. We never "punish" a man for having leprosy; at the same time we aren't stupid enough to allow the leper to roam freely about our community. Yet we allow a mental leper to contaminate our society until he disobeys an existing law; then we throw him into a jail where he, who is far too ill even to adjust to normal life, is supposed to meditate clearly and logically about his "sins" and return to society a reformed man. It's ridiculous! A person suffering from mental illness can no more recover without professional treatment than can a leper.

Many of the people in this book will be shrugged off as crackpots. They are crackpots. That's just the point. But Hitler was a crackpot too, and look at the

lives he snuffed out and wrecked before his mania caught up with him. Look at the millions of people who became infected with his mental leprosy, and many of these millions will retain the disease, and spread it to others, before they die.

How much good did jail do Hitler after his beer hall putsch? He didn't "repent" while in jail; he wrote *Mein Kampf* and figured out ways of operating within the law until he was able to write his own paranoiac legislation.

The world would have been immeasurably better off if someone had strung Hitler to the nearest lamp post back in the early 1920's. But does that mean we ought to string up all paranoiacs who have a yen for politics? That would be a bloody business. To say the least, it wouldn't exactly be humanitarian.

Bitterly as I have fought these crackpots, I have had occasional flashes of sympathy for them. Individually, they are pitiful, frustrated, unhappy people. Bitter hate does something to men's faces—as well as to their souls, I've watched them at the sedition trial—noticing the marked changes from even five years ago. It tugs at my heartstrings to learn about an old couple sitting up all night addressing envelopes because they haven't money to pay a helper, and the "cause" of hate is so desperately important to them. There is real pathos in the man who saved for months to take a vacation but who spent the money instead on an extra large edition of his paper. He was so pleased and happy that, in foregoing a personal pleasure, he could give his readers what he

called "a spiritual feast." In their twisted, warped minds, some of these people really believe their work will lighten the burdens of mankind.

These people should not be "punished" because they are "evil," but they should be segregated from society because (1) their disease is likely to manifest itself in physical, as well as mental, cruelty to others, and (2) because their disease is highly, so *very highly* contagious. These people should not be spurned because they are "bad," but should be treated for their desperate illness.

A pat solution to this problem is not easy. But clearly more and more attention should be paid to mental aberrations. The state, through its laws, must set up more and better mental hospitals. More and better psychiatrists should examine the "criminals." And some machinery must be set up whereby our "mental lepers" can be segregated and given proper medical care. As long as we allow them to wander freely among us, we are inviting nation-wide insanity. It happened to the Germans; it happened to the Japanese; it *could* happen to us.

We are fortunate in that the mental health of America, based upon our tradition of personal freedom, has been able to withstand the assaults of the paranoiacs. At any time during the last twelve years we could well have looked at the Germans and whispered gratefully: "There, but for the grace of God and our forefathers, go we."

How long we continue to withstand the assaults

depends upon how intelligently we handle our paranoiacs. Just what form a law, asking for mental examinations, should take is a problem for lawyers and psychiatrists — not for a businessman who does anti-Nazi crusading on the side. But one point is amply clear . . . to a businessman or any person who has studied the crackpot movement . . . all laws, all exposés, all punishments, and even all jail sentences are mere stop-gaps. We crusaders are like fishermen frantically bailing water out of a leaky boat. We bail year after year, but we keep praying fervently that some good psychiatrists, working with lawyers, will come by and mend the leaking hull.

* * * *

In this report, I have made some uncomplimentary remarks about the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice is not entirely to blame for the collapse of the sedition trial. Biddle is to blame for its appeasement policy towards Congressmen who attempted (and successfully) to get rid of the best prosecutor in the Department. But even then we must realize that the Department of Justice depends for its appropriations upon a favorable vote of the members of Congress. A politically-minded Attorney General is inclined to appease Congress.

This is doubly true with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is a marvelous unit of the Justice Department. It was set up primarily to handle criminal cases. No better organization exists in the world for tracking down

crooks and thugs. The Federal Bureau of Investigation comes out of the war with a well-publicized, clean record. It has successfully prevented sabotage (physical destruction). The especially trained agents of the FBI have been ideal for anticipating, forestalling and suppressing espionage plans and programs (furnishing information to the enemy).

But the FBI was not set up mentally, physically, legally or politically to handle the new type of war threat . . . disruptive propaganda.

The FBI winced and withdrew into a shell of secrecy in their early investigations of the propaganda campaign, when it became evident that Congressmen were involved. The FBI has been very jealous of its reputation in Congress. It, of course, wants an adequate appropriation. That requires a friendly vote of Congress. So the FBI was not very much interested in the sedition cases of William Power Maloney . . . although it did try to help to a greater extent when John Rogge stepped in and conveniently turned the spotlight away from Congressmen over to the German Foreign office. Nothing can cure the situation unless Congress itself gives the FBI more workable laws and a "green light" on any case which involves the breaking of those laws. There should be no exceptions to the breaking of any law. That is a problem for Congress . . . and "the people," incidentally, who make Congress tick. Congress will probably tackle it if "the people" demand it.

In further defense of the Department of Justice,

we must admit that during the war it has been hamstrung by inadequate laws. The sedition laws were very loosely drawn . . . all of us being anxious to avoid the witch-hunting of World War I period. It was necessary for the Department, in its investigation of propaganda and sedition, to fall back on the device of indicting the suspected individuals of "conspiracy to undermine the morale of the armed forces" . . . or "failure to register as a foreign agent."

Even after the indictments were made, the Department was completely befuddled by the rulings of the Supreme Court. In July of 1944, the Supreme Court by a five to four decision reversed the conviction of Elmer Hartzell, a Chicago engineer, who had been tried and convicted under the 1917 Espionage Act for circulating among members of the armed forces pamphlets "which taught suspicion of Britain, vilified Jews, and promoted lack of confidence in the President." In April, 1945, the Supreme Court by a five to four decision upset the conviction of Anthony Kramer, a former Bund member, also a German-born engineer, on the charge of treason. He had been convicted and sentenced to forty-five years imprisonment for giving aid and comfort to Werner Thiel and Edward J. Kerling, two of a group of Nazi saboteurs landed in the United States from a German submarine, who were subsequently caught and executed.

And for the third time within a year, during July, 1945, the Supreme Court reversed by another five to four decision the conviction of twenty-four German

American Bund leaders on the charge of conspiracy to counsel members to evade the draft.

The news of these Supreme Court findings caused shock not only on Capitol Hill but within the Department of Justice.

The Court's action in these three cases was the cause of even greater concern on other scores.

The five to four decisions revealed:

1. Evidence of serious conflict within the nation's highest Court on issues involving internal security; the Court's obvious inability to agree on legal principles operative in this field except by the margin of a single vote.

2. The possible discouraging effect on prosecuting and law enforcement officials to initiate action against violators in the face of accumulative weight of reversals in this type of case.

'That is, the rulings of the Supreme Court were made after much disagreement within the Court and were decided by only one vote.

The minority dissenting opinions in all cases minced no words . . . pulled no punches . . . in assailing the majority findings. In the Hartzell case, for example, the majority of five ruled that even though there were "odious ideas, gross libels, and flagrant appeals to false and sinister racial theories" there was nothing to indicate that Hartzell intended specifically to undermine the morale of the armed forces. The minority opinion said "Nuts" in legal and dignified phraseology, pointing out that Hartzell mailed his poison to Army officers.

It becomes apparent from a serious study of the three reversals that the Supreme Court is unworkably divided in its interpretation of sedition and of what constitutes "undermining the morale of the armed forces" (if that is what the charge must be under our present laws).

The internal controversy and dissension does not apply only to sedition cases. A study of the decisions made by the Supreme Court during the term ending Summer of 1945, shows that twenty-five cases, many of them involving major constitutional, economic or social issues have been decided by the hairline vote of five to four.

One thing becomes apparent from these decisions:

Congress should investigate the so-called sedition laws and the foreign agents registration act and should try to make them stronger and more workable for present and future emergencies.

For once this reporter agrees with Senator Wheeler. He threatened an investigation of the Department of Justice unless Maloney was removed. I chime in and second the motion for a complete investigation of the whole wartime administration of the Department of Justice by Congress. An impartial, public, thorough investigation. What's wrong with the sedition laws? Why did Congressmen interfere with procedures of justice? Why was Maloney removed? Why the effort to suppress Grand Jury findings? What is the full, unexpurgated story now buried in the records

of the Grand Jury? When all the facts are known Congress should be able to put the Department of Justice on a self-sustaining basis.

The Department of Justice has been reluctant to instigate cases . . . at least under the present loosely drawn laws. The exact kind of strengthening laws which are needed must be left to legally trained minds.

Of course, the war is over. We've managed to live through the disruptionist propaganda here at home. We all hope there will never be another war. The atomic bomb may make the dream of world peace come true.

But suppose we should have another war . . . a more terrifying war. It would be a more rapidly moving war. There would not be time, under the delaying procedures of Congress, to pass more adequate laws for the protection of the homefront.

Why wouldn't it be a good idea right now, while we are at peace, to strengthen the laws so that if ever again the United States is attacked by an outside power, there will be definite, hard-and-fast laws to prevent disruptionist tactics on the part of any citizen? England has a satisfactory law. When the empire is attacked, it becomes the duty of every citizen under the law to *cooperate with the government*. Those who do not cooperate in any of the government's activities to fight the war, such as rationing, conservation, or the protection of military information, are picked up by government agents and if convicted in court can be confined

for the length of the war. Such a law in wartime surely would not seriously injure freedom of speech and freedom of press.

Also, for our future security, an investigating committee should study the International Postal Union Treaties and their relationship to (1) the drive made from Germany by mail to undermine America, and (2) possible similar campaigns in the future.

The International Postal Union Treaties should be revised so as to bar from the incoming mails any printed propaganda campaign originated by any foreign country for the purpose of undermining democracy, or for "selling" a form of government inimical to our country. That's how the Germans misused the liberal treaty—and their mail was delivered *free*. Some way could be found to forestall future drives, without restricting friendly nations from soliciting trade, tourists or goodwill.

To augment information on this important subject, I submit here a confidential memorandum written by this reporter and delivered to the President of the United States on September 14, 1944. I know that "some action" was taken . . . but haven't learned the details.

Memorandum to The President:

If Germany (or the National Socialist Party) is to be prevented from *starting all over again* . . . someone during the first occupation of Germany should be tipped off to:

Seize the mailing list used by H. R. Hoffman and others in Munich to disrupt German-Americans and others in the United States.

The Allied Governments should also be interested in seizing and destroying the mailing lists used in disrupting other countries by mail . . . especially the South American nations.

This may seem to be a small detail . . . but if studied carefully the possibilities for maintaining peace are tremendous.

(Technical information attached)

It is estimated that the Hoffman set-up in Munich built a mailing list of approximately 250,000 German-Americans with relatives still in Germany. From 1933 on there was a constant flow of propaganda originating in Germany. This large mailing list was broken down into selective units. To a very special list, the Germans sent bundles of propaganda for hand-to-hand distribution. And to selected Americans, special material was shipped for local printing in the United States.

If this mailing list (and others for other countries) were destroyed, it would be nearly impossible for the Germans to start another campaign of disruption by mail.

If any publicity was given to this suggestion, the Nazi leaders would hide their mailing list . . . just like the mailing lists of subversive organizations in the United States were hidden after publicity prior to and following the outbreak of war.

We will be very glad to help anyone in authority determine where these lists might be found.

H. H.

Associated Press dispatches of October 17th, 1945 from Berlin reported the seizure of the Nazi Party master file containing about eight million names. Included also were the files of the Deutschtum im Ausland organization, under which all Nazi-sponsored foreign groups were bunched.

So, the lists have been found . . . and I hope destroyed. But shouldn't we have some protection for the future?

Isn't it possible that there may be another Hoffman in Munich, or another Ernest Schmitz on 57th Street, or another Doctor Degener in the German American Board of Trade? Perhaps a copy of the master list is locked away in vaults right here in this country. We know that lists of America First contributors and members were safely buried in backyards the night of Pearl Harbor.

Finally, and this is my closing suggestion: There is one law that is sorely needed now. There is a simple, workable solution for propaganda and for secrecy.

The counter-agent of secrecy is . . . exposure.

What we really need is a law requiring full and complete public information concerning all propaganda outfits and propaganda campaigns. That would lick the danger of secrecy. That would destroy the power of skilled propagandists to hide behind the skirts of seemingly innocent American institutions or organizations. The provisions should include public exposure of *all agreements* between American firms and foreign firms (cartels). Right at the present time it is possible for certain religious organizations to hide behind the skirts of secrecy. Few people know that the Post Office Department, even though it requires a statement of ownership on the part of every publisher of a newspaper or magazine with a complete record of all financial backing, does not require a statement of ownership from a religious organization. Many of the so-called religious organizations, such as the publishers of *Des-*

tiny, hide behind this "exception" rule of the Post Office. They refuse to give a statement of ownership. They refuse to tell the source of their funds, because they claim to be a religious organization even though they are preaching discontent and intolerance toward racial minorities.

There should be a law on the books (in addition to the law now existing requiring the registration of agents of foreign countries) specifying that every person or organization sending out political or educational propaganda of any kind in quantities (for example, of more than fifty pieces at any one time) should file either with the Department of Justice, the Department of Commerce, or the Department of State (it doesn't matter which), a definite record of their undertaking. If an individual, he should be required to state the purpose of his activity and where and how he raises the money for the propaganda campaign. If an organization, it should be required to file a complete statement of ownership or backing plus a complete record of its financial resources and from whom those receipts are obtained.

Those records should be public records. That law should apply to all organizations, good and bad. No one should be able to cover up. There should be *complete public exposure*.

If that law had been in force back in 1938, the situation described in this book would never have occurred.

The "National Committee to Keep America Out of

Foreign Wars" could not have lived another month because Hamilton Fish, in spite of his seeming indifference to public opinion, could not have afforded to let it be known where the money came from to pay for the mailings made by his committee and for the advertisements which he placed and paid for in cash in various papers throughout the country.

If there were a law requiring complete public exposure of all receipts, the America First Committee would not have been able to stage its massive campaign prior to the opening of the war. The Committee for Constitutional Government would have a much harder time in operating. Imagine the difficulties of Joe Kamp if he were required to tell in detail the names of the manufacturers who have purchased his disruptive booklets. Those manufacturers could not afford to have their names known. Imagine the consternation of *Destiny* magazine if Howard Rand were required to tell exactly where his funds came from.

All of the secrecy behind the scenes in the Grand Jury Room down in Washington would then be out of date. Every one would understand what happened to *Scribner's Commentator* . . . if *Scribner's Commentator* could exist under such a law. We would then know who was responsible for the package of \$15,000 worth of notes which supposedly flew through an open window over the shoulder of the editor of *Scribner's Commentator* one night while he worked in his study at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.

If there were *complete public exposure* of all cartel

agreements between American firms and foreign firms, there would be less likelihood of the cartel collaborators putting money into pressure groups favoring a foreign enemy of democracy. Much of the money backing America First, *Scribner's Commentator*, Joe Kamp, etc., came from those who had close and secret agreements with German industrialists. Some of these names are known to the government.

That's one solution: the counter-attack for secrecy. It's really very simple. Instead of secrecy, let's have complete public exposure of the facts. No good organization fighting for democracy will want to hide the facts. No good religious organization nor good publication will want to hide the facts of its financial management.

This is the end of my report. In closing, I want to urge my readers to think about the last suggested solution. I ask you to talk about it among your friends. We must all help educate the people. If you and enough of "the people" want a sensible, democratic, constitutional change in law to prevent secrecy and disruption . . . then we can find the solution.

POSTSCRIPT

Sitting in my room at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington . . . surrounded by friends who had helped in the investigation of *It's a Secret* . . . each one checking and correcting a particular chapter of intimate meaning to him . . . I completed reading the final manuscript ready to go to the printer.

As I passed the last paragraph, I visualized the tremendous job of indexing this book. So many people are mentioned. So many page numbers must follow the names of some. Am I sure that these names ought to be used? Am I sure this book should be published?

I left the room, rode the elevator to the lobby, caught a taxi and drove to the Lincoln Memorial. I've been there so many times. Somehow it makes one feel the bigness of democracy and the littleness of the solitary individual.

I've brushed up against too much filth in the last five years to be sloppily sentimental, but as I stood in those sobering surroundings and looked at the sad, benevolent stone face . . . looking forever past the vista of water, trees and grass toward the Capitol . . . I asked myself if I had violated the commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness." I reviewed the names and the facts. I remembered the tedious checking of copy and evidence—my search for proof . . . more proof . . . still more proof.

Words spoken for history surrounded me:

"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it."

* * * *

"A house divided against itself cannot stand . . . this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

* * * *

"Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged."

* * * *

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

* * * *

Those words have given us the pattern for true democracy. Why should I be afraid to expose those who still believe in oppression . . . if my facts are correct . . . beyond all shadow of doubt?

I went back to the Raleigh. I told my waiting friends, "It's O. K. The job's done. Let's go to press."

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